ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY

MULTICULTURALISM, DIVISION AND PLANNING: LESSONS FOR URBAN INTEGRATION AND THE CASE OF NICOSIA

Ph.D. THESIS

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Urban and Regional Planning Department

Urban and Regional Planning Programme

OCTOBER 2014

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To my dearest, mom,

FOREWORD

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October 2014

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ABBREVIATIONS

BCD : Beirut Central District
CBD : Central Business District
CPTED : Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
DC : Divided Cities
DCD : Divided Cities Discourse
DSQ : Développement Social des Quartiers
DTPH : Department of Town Planning and Housing
EU : European Union
FHA : Federal Housing Administration
FNP : Flaechennutzungsplan
FRG : Federal Republic of Germany
GaWC : Globalization and World Cities Research Network
GC : Greek Cypriot
GDR : German Democratic Republic
GLA : Greater London Authority
HDB : Housing Development Board
HLM : Habitations à Loyer Lodéré
MC : Multicultural Cities
NGO : Non-Governmental Organisation
NIHE : Northern Ireland Housing Executive
NLP : Nicosia Local Plan
NMP : Nicosia Master Plan
NRL : Neighbourhood Racial Limits
NYC : New York City
PAP : People's Action Party
RoC : Republic of Cyprus
SRU : Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain
TC : Turkish Cypriot
TCPL : Town and Country Planning Law
TPD : Town Planning Department
TRNC : Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
UK : United Kingdom
UN : United Nations
UNCHS : United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
UNHCR : United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOPS : United Nations Office for Project Services
USA : United States of America
WWII : World War Two
ZUS : Zones Urbaines Sensibles

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MULTICULTURALISM, DIVISION AND PLANNING: LESSONS FOR URBAN INTEGRATION AND THE CASE OF NICOSIA

SUMMARY

In our contemporary world, all metropolitan areas are culturally heterogeneous and socio-spatially divided to some extent. Locational preferences and distribution of different culture groups in cities have always been important research topics in urban studies. The fact that these locational preferences and the relationships among different culture groups can lead to extreme cases of division, makes this topic, socio-spatially and politically significant.

Even though every city is divided, we see that these divisions do not take the same form. The term 'divided city' is used by different researchers for different investigation purposes. The first group of researchers focus on divided cities as places where divisions of capitalist production processes are more pronounced. They emphasize class, race and gender relations, urban segregation and increasing inequality between the affluent and deprived city districts as their main concerns. In the last three decades however, there has been a growing body of literature concerned about a more specific form of urban division, classified by its extremeness. These divided cities are less in numbers and indicate physical or political contestations in certain special cases. Well-known examples of such cities are Belfast, Jerusalem, Nicosia, Mostar, Beirut, and Berlin. For the sake of clarity, this research denominates the first type of cities as multicultural cities, and the latter ones as divided cities.

There is a lack of urban studies which tend to compare these two types of cities. This research closes this gap by providing a comprehensive comparative evaluation of multicultural and divided cities. In this framework, the aim of this thesis is to investigate the effects of division and multiculturalism on the urban system and to evaluate the role of planning approaches on this effect. By doing so, the proposal of a planning approach for divided cities in general and Nicosia in particular is facilitated, with the objective of providing urban integration.

Urban integration is perceived as the advantageous circumstances attained by the 'wholeness' of an urban system. In this vein, one of the objectives of this research is to understand how some cities preserve their wholeness while others cannot. Therefore, in order to investigate the advantages of a city functioning as a whole, a systems view of cities is adopted.

To perform a comprehensive comparative analysis, four multicultural (New York City, London, Paris, Singapore) and four divided cities (Belfast, Jerusalem, Berlin, Beirut) are chosen apart from Nicosia. Case studies are compared according to three criteria; settlement history of subculture groups/division; urban policies and planning approaches regarding subculture groups/division; and physical patterning of subculture groups/division. Secondary sources like literature review, census data and online databanks are the main data sources. However, particularly for Nicosia, primary

data sources such as in-depth interviews, site visits and written correspondences are utilised.

Multicultural and divided cities are comparatively analysed before moving on to the analysis of Nicosia. Apart from case-specific findings—which are mainly evaluated within the framework of planning approach proposal for Nicosia—the main findings of the comparative analysis are illuminative for the explanation of differences between multicultural and divided cities. These are; 1| processes like globalisation and decolonisation and their constitutive process of mass immigration (instead of wars and political oppressions seen in divided cities) are the reasons why it is much easier for multicultural cities to retain their wholeness. 2| in multicultural cities, since immigrants are not ideologically attached to urban areas in their receiving societies, they are less likely to lay territorial claims within the city. These two findings explain why multicultural cities are less bound to conflict and division.

Evaluation of the comparative analysis with regards to Nicosia is carried out in two steps. In the first section findings acquired from the comparative analysis are evaluated with Nicosia-specific assessments. This has been carried out to facilitate the second step; the establishment of a foundation for the planning approach to be proposed for Nicosia. The conclusions drawn from first-step evaluation are as follows:

- Due to their global character and international setting, multicultural cities provide a diverse structure which makes it easier for different cultures to live together, with greater tolerance to one another.
- Planning plays an influential role on the relation of subculture groups and the city. Indifference to socio-cultural realities in planning causes urban disconnections. Acknowledging socio-cultural differences in planning promotes urban integration.
- Supporting the mosaic of subculture groups is essential for organic development of multicultural living and co-existence.
- Subculture boundaries do not correspond to administrative boundaries and have to be evaluated in the lowest level possible.
- Geographically targeted approaches facilitate the integration of less developed zones into the wider urban area.
- Division is unsustainable. The costs of prolonged division (and reunification) put an overwhelming pressure on urban economies.
- Reunification achieves physical wholeness if the relations between the two parts are reinforced.
- A scenarios approach is critical for being able to act regardless of the political climate.
- Common heritage, education, tourism and services are drivers of change after reunification. Development of shared spaces (schools, workplaces etc.) and neutral spaces (commercial areas, city centres etc.) are effective for bonding.

Consequently, features to avoid or enable in a planning approach for divided cities are conceptualised with case-specific considerations. The planning approach is built on this framework with specific references to how to achieve the proposed elements in

Nicosia. Owing to the fact that the objective is set to produce a guideline for all divided cities, not just Nicosia, instead of precise policies, a flexible path is sketched.

The planning approach is based on a *sustainable multicultural development* perspective carrying the hallmarks of systems approach and aiming at urban integration. As the case studies have shown, the most problematic aspect of sustainable development in divided cities is social integration. Thus, providing a multicultural vision has to be a priority in such a planning document. Further, the approach has been formulated as a *dynamic process*, incorporating phases which can be applied in both a divided city and a post-conflict city. This necessitates a planning approach which is flexible enough to act in all circumstances, regardless of the political climate. In order to provide such a dynamic process, localised, *bottom-up and horizontal learning institutions* are essential.

Taking these into consideration, the proposal encompasses three main issues:

- Urban Economy
  - Re-establishing the capital as a city to invest in, consequently providing an international, cosmopolitan setting.
  - Using drivers of change (heritage, services, tourism and education) for economic development and integration.
  - Physically integrating the city, balancing the urban amenities-population relationship and providing compact development patterns for economic gain.
- Socio-cultural Aspects
  - Providing opportunities to live together or live apart, as desired.
  - Creating and promoting neutral, shared and cosmopolitan spaces.
  - Recognising cultural differences in planning processes.
- Planning Policies
  - Establishing a collaborative approach based on problem-sharing and joint decision-making.
  - Acknowledging a scenarios approach to flexibly respond to different realities
  - Removing imbalances in urban development levels with geographically targeted approaches.
  - Adopting sustainable multicultural development principles for integration.

As a conclusion, this thesis enhances the field of work concerned with multiculturalism, division and planning in urban systems and provides a basis for future studies which aim to investigate divisions in cities. Such a holistic approach improves the compatibility of inter-disciplinary urban research and can give new visions to the scholars who study division and the city.

ÇOK KÜLTÜRLÜLÜK, BÖLÜNME VE PLANLAMA: KENTSEL BÜTÜNLEŞME İÇİN DERSLER VE LEFKOŞA ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZET

Çağdaş dünyamızdaki bütün metropoliten alanlar, kültürel çeşitlilik sergilemekte ve belirli bir düzeye kadar sosyo-mekânsal olarak bölünmüşlük göstermektedirler. Şehirlerdeki farklı kültürlerin yer seçimi tercih ve dağılımları, kentsel çalışmalar içerisinde her zaman önemli araştırma konuları olmuşlardır. Yer seçimi tercihleri ve farklı kültürel gruplar arası ilişkilerin uç bölünme örneklerine yol açabileceği gerçeği, bu konuyu, sosyo-mekânsal ve politik olarak önemli kılmaktadır.

Her kent bölünmüş olsa da, bu bölünmelerin aynı formu almadığı görülmektedir. 'Bölünmüş kent' tabiri, farklı araştırmacılar tarafından, farklı inceleme konuları için kullanılmaktadır. İlk gruptaki araştırmacılar, bölünmüş kentleri, kapitalist üretim süreçleri sonucunda ortaya çıkan bölünmeler tabanında değerlendirmektedirler. Sınıf, ırk ve cinsiyet ilişkileri, kentsel ayrışma, varsıl-yoksul kent bölgeleri arasında artan eşitsizlik gibi konuları temel ilgi alanları olarak vurgulamaktadırlar. Ancak, son otuz yıldır, kentsel bölünmenin daha özel bir formuyla ilgilenmeye başlayan ve giderek büyüyen bir yazın gelişmiştir. Bu tür bölünmüş kentler sayıca daha az olmakla birlikte, belirli özel örneklerdeki fiziksel ve/veya politik çekişmeleri içermektedirler. Bu kentler arasında iyi bilinen örnekler Belfast, Kudüs, Lefkoşa, Mostar, Beyrut ve Berlin'dir. Bahsedilen iki farklı kent tipi arasında karışıklık olmaması ve ayrımın netlik kazanması için, bu araştırma birinci tür şehirleri çok kültürlü, ikinci türdekileri ise bölünmüş kentler olarak adlandırmaktadır.

Kentsel çalışmalar içerisinde bu iki tür kenti karşılaştıran araştırmalar yetersizlik göstermektedir. Bu araştırma, bu açığı kapatmak için, çok kültürlü ve bölünmüş kentler arasında kapsamlı bir karşılaştırmalı analiz yürütmektedir. Bu çerçevede, bu tezin amacı, bölünme ve çok kültürlülüğün kentsel sistem üzerindeki etkilerini inceleyerek, planlama yaklaşımlarının bu etki üzerindeki rolünü değerlendirmektir. Böylelikle, bölünmüş kentler ve özellikle Lefkoşa için kentsel bütünleşmeyi hedefleyen bir planlama yaklaşımının önerilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Kentsel bütünleşme, kentsel sistemin 'bütünlüğü' (*wholeness*) ile elde edilecek avantajlı durumları ifade etmek için kullanılmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, bu çalışmanın hedeflerinden biri, kimi kentler bütünlüğünü koruyabilirken, diğerlerinin neden koruyamadığını anlamaktır. Dolayısıyla, bir şehrin bütün olarak işlerlik göstermesinin avantajlarının araştırılması için, kentlerin sistem bakış açısıyla ele alınması uygun görülmüştür.

Kapsamlı bir karşılaştırmalı analiz yürütebilmek için, Lefkoşa haricinde dört çok kültürlü (New York, Londra, Paris, Singapur) ve dört bölünmüş kent (Belfast, Kudüs, Berlin, Beyrut) örneği seçilmiştir. Seçilen örnek alanlar üç ölçüt aracılığıyla karşılaştırılmıştır: alt kültür grupları / bölünme tarihi; alt kültür grupları / bölünmeye ilişkin kentsel politikalar ve planlama yaklaşımları; ve alt kültür grupları / bölünmenin fiziksel dokusu. Literatür taraması, nüfus sayım verileri ve çevrimiçi veri bankaları

gibi ikincil kaynaklar ana veri kaynaklarını oluşturmaktadır. Ancak, özellikle Lefkoşa'da, derinlemesine görüşme, saha ziyareti ve yazılı görüşmeler gibi çeşitli birincil veri kaynakları da kullanılmıştır.

Lefkoşa analiz edilmeden önce, çok kültürlü ve bölünmüş kentler karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiştir. Örnek şehirlere ilişkin spesifik bulgular yanı sıra—bu bulgular Lefkoşa için planlama yaklaşımı önerisi kapsamında değerlendirilmişlerdir—karşılaştırmalı analiz sonucunda elde edilen genel sonuçlar, çok kültürlü ve bölünmüş kentler arasındaki farklılıkların açıklanmasında aydınlatıcı rol oynamaktadır. Bu sonuçlar: 1| küreselleşme, dekolonizasyon ve bunların tamamlayıcısı sayılan kitlesel göç hareketleri gibi süreçler (bölünmüş kentlerde rastlanan savaş, politik baskı gibi süreçlerle karşılaştırıldığında), çok kültürlü kentlerin bütünlüklerini koruma konusunda neden daha başarılı olduklarını göstermektedir. 2| çok kültürlü kentlerde, göçmenler göç ettikleri kentteki alanlara ideolojik olarak bağlanmadıkları için, kent içeresinde daha düşük seviyede mekânsal sahiplenme ve talepte bulunmaktadırlar. Bu iki neden, çok kültürlü kentlerin, çatışma ve bölünmeye neden daha az eğilimli olduklarını açıklamak için kullanılabilir.

Karşılaştırmalı analizlerin Lefkoşa bakımından değerlendirilmesi iki aşamada gerçekleştirilmiştir. Birinci aşamada, karşılaştırmalı analizlerden elde edilen bulgular, Lefkoşa'ya özel değerlendirmelerle irdelenmiştir. Bu irdeleme ikinci aşamayı kolaylaştırmak için gerçekleştirilmiştir; Lefkoşa için önerilecek planlama yaklaşımının temelini oluşturmak amacıyla. Birinci aşamada elde edilen sonuçlar özetle aşağıdaki gibidir:

- Çok kültürlü kentler, sahip oldukları küresel karakter ve uluslararası ortam sayesinde, farklı kültürlerin birbirlerine karşı hoşgörü içeresinde bir arada yaşayabilecekleri çeşitli bir yapı sağlamaktadırlar.
- Alt kültür grupları ve kentler arasındaki ilişki üzerinde planlama etkin bir rol oynamaktadır. Planlama süreçlerinde sosyo-kültürel gerçekliklere karşı takınılan duyarsızlık kentsel kopukluklara neden olmaktadır. Sosyo-kültürel değişikliklerin planlama süreçlerinde tanımlanması kentsel bütünleşmeyi desteklemektedir.
- Alt kültür grubu mozaiğinin desteklenmesi, çok kültürlü birlikte yaşamanın organik olarak gelişmesi için önemlidir.
- Alt kültür grubu sınırları yönetim sınırları ile örtüşmediğinden, mümkün olan en düşük seviyede değerlendirilmelidirler.
- Coğrafi odaklı yaklaşımlar, daha az gelişmiş bölgelerin daha geniş kentsel alanla bütünleşmesini kolaylaştırmaktadır.
- Bölünme sürdürülebilir değildir. Uzun süreli bölünmenin (ve yeniden birleşmenin) maliyeti, kentsel ekonomiler üzerinde büyük bir baskı oluşturmaktadır.
- Yeniden birleşme, iki parça arasındaki ilişkilerin güçlendirilmesi halinde fiziksel bütünleşme sağlayabilir.
- Senaryolar yaklaşımı, politik iklimden bağımsız olarak hareket edebilmek için önem taşımaktadır.
- Ortak miras, eğitim, turizm ve hizmetler, yeniden birleşme sonrasında değişimi yönlendiren araçlardır. Paylaşılan mekânların (okullar, işyerleri vb.) ve nötr

mekânların (ticaret alanları, kent merkezleri vb.) geliştirilmesi, sosyal bağlanma için etkilidir.

Sonuç olarak, örnek alanlara özel durumlar dikkate alınarak, bölünmüş kentler için önerilecek planlama yaklaşımında etkinleştirilecek ya da önlenecek öğeler belirlenmiştir. Planlama yaklaşımı, önerilen öğelerin Lefkoşa'da nasıl gerçekleştirilebileceğine ilişkin spesifik referanslar verilmesi yoluyla, bu çerçeve üzerine kurulmuştur. Amacın sadece Lefkoşa değil, tüm bölünmüş kentler için bir rehber üretmek olması nedeniyle esnek bir yol çizilmiştir.

Planlama yaklaşımı, sistem yaklaşımının niteliklerini bünyesinde barındırarak kentsel bütünleşmeyi amaçlayan bir *sürdürülebilir çok kültürlü gelişme* bakış açısı üzerine temellendirilmiştir. Örnek alanlarda görüldüğü üzere, bölünmüş kentlerde sürdürülebilir gelişmenin en büyük sorunsalı sosyal bütünleşmedir. Dolayısıyla, çok kültürlülük vizyonu sağlamak, bu nitelikteki bir planlama belgesinin önceliği haline gelmektedir. Ayrıca, planlama yaklaşımı *dinamik bir süreç* olarak formüle edilmiştir. Hem bölünmüş hem de yeniden birleşmiş kentte uygulanabilecek aşamalar içermektedir. Bu tür bir yaklaşım, politik iklimden bağımsız olarak her türlü durumda hareket edilebilmesine imkân tanımaktadır. Böylesine bir dinamik süreç sağlamak için, yerelleşmiş, aşağıdan yukarıya (taban temelli) yatay olarak örgütlenmiş, öğrenen kurumların varlığı önem taşımaktadır.

Tüm bunları göz önüne alan planlama yaklaşımı önerisi üç ana konu üzerine şekillenmekte, her bir ana konu bölünmüş kentlerde etkinleştirilmesi ya da önlenmesi gereken ilkelerle açıklanmakta ve Lefkoşa özelinde bu ilkelerin gerçekleştirilmesi için ne yapılması gerektiğine ilişkin politikalar içermektedir:

a) Kentsel Ekonomi

- *Açık kent*: Açık bir sistem haline gelebilmek için, başkentin yatırım çeken bir şehir olarak yeniden kurgulanması ve dolayısıyla, uluslararası ve çok kültürlü bir ortamın sağlanması. Lefkoşa'da Sur İçi yakın çevresi (kentsel çekirdek) bu gelişmeler için ana mekân olmalıdır. Merkezin kentin geri kalanından kopması önlenmelidir. Bu noktada metropoliten planlamanın (var olan çift toplumlu Lefkoşa İmar Planı-NMP) yeni kurulacak çift toplumlu bir komite aracılığı ile geliştirilmesi ve güncellenmesi gerekmektedir.
- *Ortak değerler ve karşılıklı üstünlüklere dayalı değişim*: Değişim yönlendiricilerinin (miras alanları, hizmetler, turizm ve eğitim) etkinleştirilmesi ekonomik gelişme ve bütünleşme sağlayacaktır. Lefkoşa'da bütünleşmeye ivme kazandıracak en önemli öğe ortak mirastır (özellikle Sur İçi) ve bu bağlamda, var olan NMP politika ve uygulamalarına devam edilmesi destekleyici olacaktır. Kuzey ve güney arasında dengesiz gelişmenin önlenmesi gerekmektedir. Karşılıklı üstünlüklerin ve coğrafi olarak odaklanan yaklaşımların kullanılması, her iki taraf için de yararlı olan dengeli bir gelişme sağlayabilir.
- *Yüksek verim*: Kentin fiziksel bütünleşmesinin, dengeli kentsel hizmet ve nüfus ilişkisinin ve kompakt gelişmenin sağlanması ekonomik kazancı garantileyecektir. Her ne kadar NMP'nin hâlihazırda fiziksel yoğunlaşma politikası bulunsa da, diğer ikisi ancak yeniden birleşme sonrasında, arta kalan açık ve boş alanların yeni fonksiyonel bölgelere dönüştürülmesi ve altyapı elemanlarının yeniden birleştirilmesi ile gerçekleşecektir. Gereksiz yapılaşmanın önlenmesi için (1) eldeki stokun kullanılması ve (2) yeniden

yapılanma ile yenileme arasındaki dengenin iyi kurulması, maliyeti düşürerek etkin kaynak yönetiminin sağlanmasının önünü açacaktır.

b) Sosyo-Kültürel Boyut

- *Alt kültürler mozaiği*: Birlikte ya da ayrı yaşama olanaklarının tanınması, çok kültürlülüğün organik olarak gelişmesine imkân tanıyacak ve mahalle düzeyinde, topluluk tabanlı örgütlerin etkinliğini artıracaktır. Böyle bir ortam sağlanabilmesi için seçenekler (örneğin konutlarda) çeşitlendirilmelidir. Alt kültür grupları arasındaki sınırlar, birlikte yaşamayı destekleyecek yumuşak, doğal ya da insan yapımı geçirgen sınırlar olmalıdır. Bunun için yenilikçi yaklaşımlar kullanılmalıdır (örneğin, *wedge planning*). Karışık mahalleler yaratmak adına bağlayıcı ve güçlü bütünleşme politikalarının kullanılmasını önlemek, hayal ürünü olan tekil ve birleşik mekân algısını ortadan kaldıracaktır.
- *Kamusal alanlar*: Nötr, paylaşılan ve kozmopolit alanların yaratılmasını sağlamak sosyal bütünleşmeyi tetikleyecektir. Yeniden birleşmenin ardından Lefkoşa Ara Bölge'si böylesi bir hizmet verebilirken, mevcut durumda NMP'nin Sur İçi bölgesindeki uygulamaları buna olanak tanımaktadır. Birlikte yaşamı kolaylaştırmak için, kamusal mekânın tek kimliğe hitap eder hale gelmesinin önlenmesi gerekmektedir. Uygun yerlerde uygun fonksiyonların seçilmesi ile bu aşılabilir.
- *Planlamada sosyo-kültürel farklılıkların tanınması*: Kültürel farklılıkların planlama süreçlerine yansıtılması, plüralist bir bakış açısı sağlamak açısından önem taşımaktadır. Çeşitli ihtiyaçların tanımlanması ve tadilatlarla yanıtlanması, kültürel tercihler doğrultusunda gerçekleştirilmelidir. Bu noktada, eşitlikçi olmayan uygulamalardan ve çoğunluk kültürün baskısından kaçınılmalıdır.

c) Planlama Politikaları

- *Etkin planlama*: Sorun paylaşımı ve ortak karar verme süreçlerine dayalı kolaboratif planlama yaklaşımının geliştirilmesi, etkin bir planlama sürecinin oluşturulabilmesi için önem taşımaktadır. Geri bildirim mekanizmalarının pürüzsüz olarak işleyebilmesi için, iki toplumlu bir komitenin her iki toplumdan gelen bildirimleri ortaklaşa değerlendirmesi ve kararların buna göre verilmesi esas alınmalıdır. Taban temelli yatay örgütlenme, toplum temelli ve mahalle temelli planlama için temel niteliktedir. Sürtüşme noktaları ve nötr yaklaşımların ya da her ihtiyaca doğrudan cevap verme çabalarının önlenmesi etkinlik düzeyini artıracaktır. Alternatif çözüm önerilerinin esnek olarak çeşitli araçlarla sürece dâhil edilmesi gerekmektedir.
- *Senaryolar*: Esneklik ve duruma özgü düzenlemelerin yapılması, farklı gerçekliklere yanıt verebilmek için önemlidir. Böyle bir temel NMP ile atılmıştır ancak geliştirilmesi gerekmektedir. Planlama sürecinin pasifleşmesini önlemek için sistemin doğru olarak anlaşılması ve manipüle edilmesi ön koşuldur.
- *Coğrafi odaklı yaklaşımlar*: Kentsel gelişmede dengesizliklerin engellenmesi, daha bütünleşmiş bir şehrin elde edilmesine katkı sağlayacaktır. İki kesim arasında eşitliksiz dağılıma ilişkin algılamaların önüne geçilmesi bu süreç içerisinde önem kazanmaktadır. Daha az gücü olan tarafı savunmak ve eşit olanaklar talep etmek, memnuniyetsizliklerin önüne geçecektir.
- *Kentsel bütünleşme*: Temel kaygı, kentsel bütünleşmeye dayalı sürdürülebilir çok kültürlü bir kentsel gelişme modeli oluşturmak olmalıdır. Parçalar

arasındaki ilişkiler, kanallar ve iletişim güçlendirilmeli ve gerekli görülmesi halinde yenileri yaratılmalıdır. Lefkoşa'da, kentsel açık alanlardan ekonomik, sosyal ve ekolojik olarak faydalanmak (ör. Ara Bölge) sağlam bir politikadır. Birleştirici elemanların kullanılmayan alanlara dönüşmesini ya da eşiklerin aşılmasını önlemek gerekmektedir. Bunlar, merkezde paylaşılan mekânların yaratılması (örneğin Ara Bölge'de) ya da kentsel yayılmanın altyapı sınırlarına göre sınırlandırılması ile aşılabilecek durumlardır.

Planlama yaklaşımın sistem bakış açısıyla iç içe geçtiği görülebilir. Öncelikle, Lefkoşa ve diğer bölünmüş kentlerin gelişimlerinin, bir bütün oldukları ilk durumlarına göre şekillendiği söylenebilir. Dışarıdan gelen bir müdahale ile parçalanan (*progressive factorisation*) bu şehirler iki bağımsız parça haline gelmişlerdir. Ancak bu parçaların bir bütüne ait oldukları düşünüldüğünde, parçalar arası ilişkilerin güçlendirilmesiyle yeniden birleşebilecekleri görülmüştür (*progressive systematisation*). Her ne kadar bu parçaların kendi içlerinde yaşamsal bir dengeye (*biotic balance*) sahip oldukları söylenebilirse de, bölünmüş şehir analizleri bunun bir yanılsama olduğunu göstermiş ve bu kent sistemlerinin tam kapasite olarak çalışmadıklarını ortaya koymuştur.

Planlama yaklaşımını sistem bakış açısıyla değerlendirdiğimizde, insan ilişkileri (kanallar) ve insan aktivitelerinin (mekânlar) desteklenmesi gerekliliğinin vurgulandığı görülmektedir. Bu da bizi, şehrin kendi kendini düzenleyen ve optimize eden, aşağıdan yukarıya süreçlerinin desteklenmesi sonucuna getirmektedir. Yani, planlamanın sistem performansını optimize etmek için seçenekleri çoğaltması gerektiği görülmektedir. Böyle bir kapasitenin öğrenen kurumlarla mümkün olabileceği gösterilmiştir. Plancının rolü, kentsel sistemin davranışlarını anlayarak sistemi belirsizlikten stabiliteye doğru taşımak olmalıdır. Bu da, belirsizliklerin, senaryolar ya da duruma özgü tadilatlarla planlama sisteminin bir parçası olmasını gerektirmektedir. Özellikle Kıbrıs'ın mevcut durumu göz önüne alındığında, politik iklimi aşan bir yaklaşımın gerekliliği göze çarpmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, kentsel sistemlerde çok kültürlülük, bölünme ve planlamayı konu alan bu tezin, bu konuyla ilgilenen ileriki çalışmalar için bir altlık teşkil etmesi hedeflenmiştir. Literatürde çok kültürlü ve bölünmüş kentleri karşılaştıran çalışmaların eksikliği göze çarpmaktadır. Böylesine bütüncül bir yaklaşım, kentlerde bölünmeyi inceleyen araştırmacılar için yeni bakış açıları sunmakta ve disiplinler arası karşılaştırmalı analizlerin uyumluluğunu artırmaktadır.

1. INTRODUCTION

In our contemporary world, all cities are culturally heterogeneous and socio-spatially divided to some extent. Locational preferences and distribution of different culture groups in cities have always been important research topics in urban studies. The fact that these locational preferences and the relationships among different culture groups can lead to extreme cases of division, makes this topic, socio-spatially and politically significant.

The term ‘divided city’ is used by different researchers to define different viewpoints which appear in a duality. The first discourse focuses on divided cities as places where divisions of capitalist production processes are more accurate. They emphasise class, race and gender relations, urban segregation and increasing inequality between the affluent and deprived city districts as their main concerns. In the last three decades however, there has been a growing body of literature concerned about a more specific form of urban division, classified by its extremeness. These divided cities are less in numbers and indicate physical or political contestations in certain special cases. Well-known examples of such cities are Belfast, Jerusalem, Nicosia, Mostar, Beirut, and Berlin. For the sake of clarity, this research denominates the first type of cities as multicultural cities, and the latter ones as divided cities.

These two different discourses spearheaded in related urban literature approach the subject of division and segregation from independent standpoints. However, the two types of cities can be acknowledged as different phases of a process. Nevertheless, there is a lack in urban studies which tend to compare these two types of cities. The comparative perspective is usually only among divided cities within themselves or multicultural ones, but not between them. This research closes this gap by providing a comprehensive comparative evaluation of multicultural and divided cities. Hence, provision of a general framework regarding similarities and differences among case studies will provide an objective comparative perspective for future studies related to the subject.

Such a comparative framework provides an overview of the effects of division and the role of planning in a variety of circumstances. By evaluating the city as a system, the process and consequences of division/segregation are assessed in order to reveal the factors which define the importance of wholeness of a city (urban integration). Urban policies and planning approaches are investigated as a concurrent framework for such circumstances to occur. Main areas of concern are; how the wholeness of the urban system is maintained in multicultural cities; how division is sustained in divided cities; and, how wholeness of the city is regained in reunified cities, via planning processes.

Based on these evaluations, this research develops a planning approach proposal for divided cities in general and Nicosia in particular. Through the lessons drawn from case studies, features of a planning approach to be enabled or avoided in such volatile circumstances are highlighted, and their specific ramifications for Nicosia are presented.

1.1 Problem, Hypothesis and Research Questions

Problem

The city is a system that functions as a whole. Divided cities are systems which have lost their wholeness and are forced to function as two separate organisms; since compulsory division produces important effects on the urban system. This situation effects planning in divided cities as well and necessitates the utilisation of a specific planning approach. This situation has been acknowledged as the basic problem of this research.

Hypothesis

The city operates as a holistic system. Division is a condition which obstructs the urban organism's functioning and development as a whole. Planning can play a constructive role; 1) in overcoming the negative consequences of division; and, 2) in facilitating the city to cope with division. Multicultural and divided/reunited case studies can provide positive examples for dealing with division and delivering urban integration.

Research Questions

The main research question of this thesis is: "What can planning do to sustain the wholeness of the urban system?" In scope of this main question, the following research questions have been formulated;

- What are the factors which procure the wholeness / urban integration of an urban system?
- What kind of effects does division have on the city?
- Can clues be drawn from multicultural cities, regarding how different subculture groups can live together?
- Can divided cities be resolved as multicultural cities once they are reunited?
- What is the role of planning in division / reunification processes of divided cities?
- What is the role of planning in maintaining life as it is in multicultural cities?

1.2 Aim

In this research, the aim is to investigate the effects of division and multiculturalism on the urban system and to evaluate the role of planning approaches on this effect. Such a task will facilitate the proposal of a planning approach for divided cities and Nicosia, by delivering suggestions on how to steer and coordinate this effect in order to reach urban integration.

The goal is to mainly discern between multicultural and divided cities in terms of processes, consequences, urban policy approaches and planning practices regarding division. Comparison of multicultural and divided cities is a relatively less penetrated area of research. This study aims to overcome this lack of analysis.

1.3 Scope

The first chapter of the thesis gives a brief description of the research while presenting the aim, main problem, hypothesis, research questions and the methodology of the research in order to give a comprehensive introduction to the study.

In the second chapter, there is an extensive literature review regarding multiculturalism, division and planning. First section differentiates the two types of cities, gives a brief history of division, illuminates contemporary divisions in cities, articulates reasons of division on the micro- and macro-scales, defines multiculturalism, and places it on a continuum with urban division and segregation in order to produce a comprehensible understanding of relationships between these concepts. The second subsection is devoted to understand the connections of planning with multiculturalism and division. Following an analysis of how division has been referenced in the history of urban theory making, current proposals for planning in multicultural and divided contexts is presented. Then, systems view of cities and urban planning are investigated in order to produce the theoretical framework of this thesis.

The third chapter is dedicated to the comparative analysis of four multicultural (New York, London, Paris, Singapore) and four divided cities (Belfast, Berlin, Jerusalem, Beirut) chosen as case studies for this research. All the case studies are analysed according to; historical settlement patterns of subculture groups; urban policies and planning approaches regarding division; and physical appearance of subculture groups and division. Each type of city is compared within themselves, as well as between the two types in order to produce accurate and inter-urban results.

Nicosia is evaluated in the fourth chapter. Interviews conducted in the city are presented and evaluated in the first section. Following this, the content of the case-study analysis are carried out in more detail for Nicosia.

In the fifth chapter, the results of the previous two chapters are compared in order to propose a planning approach for divided cities in general and Nicosia in particular. The first section presents lessons learned from multicultural and divided cities in the framework of Nicosia, and the second subsection submits the planning approach.

The last chapter of this thesis is dedicated to offer a conclusion, comprising the results and proposals of the research. Issues which can be developed in following researches are introduced.

1.4 Methodology

The concern of this study is to understand division and to propose a planning approach to effect and change it. Therefore, apart from theoretical literature review, a

comprehensive comparative analysis has been conducted to produce a prescriptive proposal. Expectations from a comparative perspective have been that it would reveal (1) the uniqueness of each case study; and, (2) general patterns between case studies within each group of cities and between groups.

Secondary data used for the research are; literature search, census data, online databanks for maps, and the procurement of documents which were not online via visiting administrational bodies. As part of literature review; books, journals, official reports, urban plans, strategies etc. of an inter-disciplinary nature have been searched and evaluated. Data which could not be reached from the internet (for example, Nicosia Master Plan) were obtained from planning offices or other related bodies with the access provided to the author.

In order to produce maps for each case study, geographical information systems (ArcGIS), Photoshop and other instrumental programs have been utilised. Census data for every case study has been interrogated and they have been transformed into meaningful "subculture distribution" maps by producing databases on ArcGIS. Since the case studies were all over the world, base maps and other necessary information (boundaries, roads etc.) were retrieved from online databank of ArcGIS.

Primary data of the research are; structured interviews, written correspondences, site research and participation in related conferences, workshops, and meetings. To conduct in-person interviews with prominent personalities from Turkish and Greek Cypriots, a questionnaire has been prepared in accordance with the research conducted on related studies' interviews. Nine face-to-face interviews have been conducted in Nicosia, within a week-long site visit. In addition, written correspondences have been conducted when the need arose with people who are professionally active in the field of enquiry.

Four site visits (among nine case studies) have been executed; Belfast, Berlin, London, and Nicosia. In Belfast, London and Nicosia, these site visits included participation to related conferences. They have provided the author with on-site observations of the current situation and visual material (photographs) as well as written documents.

Apart from participation in relative conferences, a seminar on divided cities in Cambridge University, and a conflict resolution workshop in Tubingen University

have been attended. These attendances provided the author with different perspectives and up-to-date information.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents literature review on multiculturalism and division. As a start, in order to illuminate the reasoning behind the choice of terminology, the first subsection aims to elaborate specific connotations assigned to division and multiculturalism while explaining their relationship with the city. History, causes, positive and negative attributes and levels of division and multiculturalism will be evaluated within this context. In the second sub-section, the main concern is to review how scholars evaluate urban policies and planning approaches in the light of division and multiculturalism. Afterwards, the city and urban planning will be conceptualised in a systems view in order to make sense of urban integration (used in the heading of this thesis), and how it can be achieved via "planning change". As a conclusion, this chapter will define the conceptual framework and theoretical background of this research.

2.1 Identifying Multicultural and Divided Cities

Almost every major city around the world is heterogeneous in terms of culture and ethnicity. What this implies for cities is division and that every city is divided to a certain extent. This is mainly the reason why, for the sake of clarity, the terms 'divided city' and 'multicultural city' are chosen to differentiate two distinct forms of cities existing today. The following will elaborate the reasons of this preference.

Before proceeding, it is important to note that throughout this study, urban division is used interchangeably with the term segregation. The main reason for this is to avoid the extensive segregation literature in order to stay focused on the issue of division in cities. The aim of this thesis is to investigate division, which can be perceived as a broader concept of segregation. The following explanations are aimed at clarifying this issue as well.

A search on the term 'divided city' reveals very different research perspectives which use the same term. These different approaches appear in a duality. The first discourse which was mainly developed from 1950s to 1980s focuses on divided cities as "common themes and conditions prevailing throughout the developed western world"

(Safier, 1997). In this line of literature, most-encountered issues are; divisions of capitalist production processes, class, race and gender relations, urban segregation and increasing inequality between the affluent and deprived city districts. Anderson (2008) makes a similar observation: "mainstream urban studies in English-speaking academia have generally concentrated on 'normal', 'undivided' and more or less peaceful cities […] where these [ordinary] cities are considered 'divided', we have seen it is usually not by nationalism but by other divisions, such as ethnicity per se or social class". A great variety of authors mainly deals with this type of divided cities (see for example: Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000, 2002; Marcuse, 1995; Fainstein et al., 1992; Mallenkopf and Castells, 1991).

In the last three decades however, there has been a growing body of literature concerned about a more specific form of urban division, classified by its extremeness (Safier, 1997). These 'divided cities' were less in numbers and indicated physical or political contestations in certain special cases. Well-known examples of such cities are Belfast, Jerusalem, Nicosia, Johannesburg, Sarajevo, Mostar, Beirut, Brussels, and Berlin. Prominent scholars working in this field (see for example: Bollens, 1998, 2007, 2009; Calame and Charlesworth, 2009; Boal, 1994; Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011; Hepburn, 2004; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999; Kotek, 1999), in time, have developed, what came to be known as the 'Divided Cities Discourse' (DCD).

DCD writers extend this dual differentiation to denominate division in cities:

- Boal (1994) makes a threefold classification: 1| Socio-economically based division in ethnically homogeneous societies—e.g. Istanbul, Dublin; 2| Division in ethnically heterogeneous societies where socio-economic division to some degree correlates with ethnicity—e.g. New York, London; 3| Division in ethnically heterogeneous societies where questions of national sovereignty are to the fore and where ethno-national separatism appears as a viable strategy—e.g. Nicosia, Jerusalem, Belfast.
- Hepburn (2004, 2006) differentiates between *divided* and *contested* city: the first one refers to disruptions among ethnic or religious groups; and the latter to a more fundamental hostility where two or more ethnic groups are in contestation for ownership and control of the city.
- Benvenisti (1986) and Bollens (1998) assert that cities like Jerusalem, where schisms are intensified by wider national conflicts, transform from being merely *divided* cities into *polarized* ones.

- Kliot and Mansfeld (1999) prefer *division* and *partition* and indicate that division is usually artificially imposed by external forces (e.g. at the end of a war) on ethnically homogeneous states; while partition is a result of internal schism (associated with the dissolution of colonial empires).
- Brand et al. (2008) distinguish between two types of contested cities: "the first, where the conflict is centred on divisions of class, race and ethnicity; and the second, where… [there] is a long-standing dispute about the sovereignty of the state itself".
- Anderson (2008) categorizes three types of divided cities with regards to nationalism and state building failures: 1| State-divided cities—e.g. Berlin; 2| Ethnically divided cities—e.g. New York, London; 3| Ethno-nationally divided cities—e.g. Nicosia, Jerusalem, Belfast.

Similarities among different nominations proposed by these scholars can be set into a basic form. The first group of cities, which are mainly divided by socio-economic processes, are—in comparison to the next group—'merely' and 'ethnically' divided cities. The second group, comprising cities in political conflict, are 'extremely' and 'ethno-nationally' divided cities. It is obvious that the causes of division are determinant in designating which group a city belongs to. Section '2.1.1.3 Causes of urban division' will give a more comprehensive perspective on this subject.

Table 2.1 summarises different terminologies used by urban scholars to identify divided cities. Since every city is divided, in order to eliminate any misunderstandings and clarify the distinction between the two types of divided cities subject to this thesis, the terms 'multicultural' and 'divided' are chosen as illustrated in the table.

Table 2.1 : Different terminologies used by different authors to define divided cities.

Merely divided cities	***Extremely divided cities***	***Authors***
Ethnically divided	Ethno-nationally divided	Anderson, 2008
Pluralist	Sovereignty-oriented	Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011
Divided	Polarized	Bollens, 1998, 2007, 2009 Benvenisti, 1986
Divided	Contested	Hepburn 2004, 2006
Divided	Partitioned	Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999
Multiethnic	Multinational	Kymlicka, 1998
Multicultural	Divided	Caner, 2014 (this research)

2.1.1 Describing urban division

It would be illuminative to reflect Marcuse's (2002) thoughts on types of divisions existing in the city. According to Marcuse (2002), there are three types of urban division which can overlap or contradict each other;

1. *Cultural divisions*: Differences in language, ethnicity, nationality, religion or belief. Elements of cultural difference, independent of economic and social differences.
2. *Functional divisions*: The result of economic logic, either physical or organisational, i.e. areas set aside for defence, commerce, and residence. Zoning is the accepted legal embodiment of such divisions.
3. *Status divisions*: Reflecting and reinforcing relationships of power, domination and exploitation. Class, income and occupation are some examples of divisions by status. Spatially they are reflected in gated communities and slums.

This perspective illustrates why division is the preferred term in this research: because it is general and refers to a broader concept than segregation. Division is used to evoke the meaning of segregation; but more importantly, by preferring division to segregation, it is aimed to capture the extreme conditions of divided cities mentioned earlier (see '2.1.3 Locating multiculturalism, division and segregation' for a detailed explanation). Nevertheless, urban division is *not* a concept which has received much attention from urban scholars. This section, therefore, is mainly presented through the lenses of segregation researchers.

A basic definition for segregation is "the spatial separation of various groups across different geographical areas" (Caves, 2005, p. 400). On the urban scale, these groups are contextualised around ethnicity, race, religion or income. Here, ethnic group refers to vertical divisions of a society, in contrast to the horizontal divisions of social class (Boal, 1978). It becomes inevitable for these planes to meet at certain points. As Peach (1999) showed for London, ethnic segregation has socio-economic components, but these components are not sufficient to understand segregation for a given city. Other factors, like cultural and historical backgrounds are also effective and have to be taken into account (Musterd, 2005).

Apart from racial, religious or socio-economic, an overtly examined type of segregation is residential segregation. This concept is mainly concerned with the segregation of different groups on the neighbourhood level (Massey, 1985; Bolt et al., 2010). Discrimination in housing is one of the main subjects of these researchers (Peach, 1999; Bolt et al., 2010; van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998). Residential segregation can be based on any criteria of the population, like race, ethnicity, or socio-economic differences. This thesis is concerned with urban division in nine different

case studies; therefore, all aspects of segregation will be encountered throughout the study.

As Nightingale (2012) asserts, research on segregation is carried out with different approaches. Some scholars concentrate on the level of segregation and use a variety of segregation indexes—such as Index of Dissimilarity—for measuring segregation in a given area (see for ex., Schelling, 1971; Peach, 1996b). Others concentrate on the terminology and categorization of segregated urban neighbourhoods. Terms like 'ghetto', 'colony' and 'enclave' are different characterizations proposed by these scholars (see, for example, Marcuse, 1995; Boal, 1978; Davis, 2004; Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000) and they are explained in the following sections. Yet another group of scholars compare different cities by modelling the process of segregation (see, for example, Ireland, 2008; Arbaci, 2007; Peach, 1999; Musterd, 2005). The most renowned examples of the latter are Chicago School's invasions-succession process (explained in '2.2.1 Evolution of urban theories with regards to division') and the voluntary segregation model (explained in '2.1.1.4 Positive and negative aspects of division'). This research heavily relies on the results of the third group since in essence it is concerned with comparing different cities.

2.1.1.1 History of urban division

To evaluate the history of division briefly but collectively, we will reside with Marcuse's periodization. Marcuse (2002) explains 'the partitioned city in history' by referring to the three types of urban division mentioned before; cultural, functional, and status divisions (see the introduction of '2.1.1 Describing urban division'). Marcuse also emphasises the role of space as a dynamic factor; "historically viewed, different patterns of division are differentially reflected, fortified, contradicted, by space" (Marcuse 2002). He then combines these three lines of partitioning in a spatial context to explain each of the six historical periods he has generated (Table 2.2).

Division in cities is not a new phenomenon. It has existed since prehistoric times. Ancient prototypes for the divided city may be visible in the village of Kahun, Egypt as early as 2670 BC: "contained by a wall, also intended to prevent people getting out" (cited in, Marcuse, 2002). A similar arrangement was seen 1300 years later in the village of Amarna near Cairo, where the workers had to live in a grid laid out especially for them; while the wealthy lived anywhere they wished (Calame and Charlesworth,

2009). Beginning with the Han Dynasty in 206 BC, Chinese cities became probably the earliest fully walled cities (Marcuse, 2002). Calame and Charlesworth (2009) assert that fortifications played an important role in the first cities of Mesopotamia and Europe, such as, Ur, Erbil, Babylon, Uruk, Turin, Rome and Milan. These walls were built to counteract external threats by providing defence. But as the city prospered, partitions asserted social distinctions as well, such as exclusion of weak minorities and reinforcement of group identity (Marcuse, 2002; Calame and Charlesworth, 2009).

Table 2.2 : Spatial urban divisions in history (adapted from Marcuse, 2002).

Historical type	***Society***	***Status divisions***	***Cultural divisions***	***Functional divisions***
Early pre-capitalist city	Agricultural, little separation between town and country	State or customary role		
Developed commercial city	Agricultural, commercial, administrative, towns	State service	Religious position, beliefs	Economic function by guild
Colonial city	Imperial relations	Imperial vs. colonized	Language, religion	
Early industrialized capitalist city	Industrial society, separation of home/work place	Fine-grained by class		Economic function
Mature, industrialized, Fordist city	Fordist production, national industrial base	Class	Ethnicity	Limited economic function
Post-Fordist globalizing city	Post-Fordist, globalized economies	Class	Ethnicity	

In medieval European cities, the church and the palace were at the top of the hierarchy, followed by merchants' area, and a nearby area for workshops of craftsmen and artisans (Mumford, 2007). Militarization for better protection created new forms of status divisions as well as spatial outcomes like "noble quarters". Rich people tended to live near the centre, poorer on the outskirts, while peasants lived and worked outside the walls. Lines of spatial division were determined by religious and economic functions, but were rather customary and open (Marcuse, 2002). Ghettos were the exception. The first planned ghettos appeared in Europe during this period; earliest ones were created in Venice (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009). They were designated for the Jews on undesirable land with its own boundaries, laws, taxes and the like.

Both Marcuse (2002) and Grillo (2000a) separate the Islamic cities of the pre-industrial era from the European ones. In order to address them, we will reside with Grillo's

(2000a) thorough examination of segregation in Istanbul during the Ottoman period. At the time, Istanbul was the seat of the Ottoman Empire which was a polyethnic and multinational society. It was divided into quarters called *mahalles* which appeared around a mosque, church, or synagogue where the imam, priest or the rabbi provided the leadership. Although Muslims and non-Muslims lived separately, their *mahalles* did not form large, closed districts, but a mosaic of subcultures across the city. The reason for religious and ethnic relations to be easy-going in such a plural society is mainly attributed to the *millet* system (Grillo, 2000a; Marcuse, 2002; Kadıoğlu, 2010). This system treated each confession as a community and allowed its leaders to deal with its internal affairs by themselves (Kadıoğlu, 2010). Formally subordinate groups were granted relative autonomy in their cultural, religious, economic and political affairs, and in addition, some of their members were allowed to rise to positions of great power and eminence. According to Grillo (2000a), this was a successful approach to incorporate difference.

Colonial cities represent the clearest examples of the interrelationship between spatial division and political/economic power (Marcuse, 2002). A clear basic typology can be perceived if cities were first to be established by the dominant group: wealthy enclaves for the dominant imperial power and ghettos for the native population (Sandercock, 2000a, 2000b). Even though ghettos were residentially excluded, they were economically integrated with the society (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009).

According to Marcuse (2002), with the advent of capitalism, spatial divisions were mainly a result of market preferences (before capitalism they were mainly due to status or power). Living place was separated from working place. Each household was permitted to choose where to live, based on its resources. This aspect created a class-specific housing; residential segregation appeared as a characteristic of the period, depending on the developments of transportation technology. Land and residential areas were bought and sold for profit, marking a big change from preceding periods. When land markets turned into a capitalist institution, race-infused economic interests became prominent in allocation of residential land, and therefore, spatial divisions became rigid (Marcuse, 2002; Nightingale, 2012).

In the Fordist period, with the advance of transportation technologies, suburbs (especially in the US) became dominant residential locations for middle-classes and

professionals. Suburbs were also divided by place and class; the richest lived at the farthest position from the city centre (Jessop, 1992; Marcuse, 2002).

The word ‘segregation’ was first coined for techniques to racially isolate Hong Kong and Bombay (Mumbai) in the 1890s and from then on spread worldwide (Nightingale, 2012). New urban planning techniques aimed at separating zones according to racial differences got to its peak point in 1948, with ‘apartheid’ in South African cities. The entrance of racial dynamics into the real estate market, specifically in American cities like Chicago, rendered urban divisions more durable (Nightingale, 2012).

These developments left legacies for the contemporary period. Today, segregation and division became a phenomenon in cities all over the world, from the Americas to Europe, and from Africa to Asia. Cities have become sharply divided by class, race, ethnicity and the like, and new pressures from the international financial institutions have enhanced the legacies of colonial-era segregationist urban policy (Nightingale, 2012).

2.1.1.2 The contemporary city and division

It could be argued that the contemporary city is no longer divided between only the ‘rich’ and the ‘poor’, or between ‘us’ and ‘everyone else’. There is also division within the separate parts (Logan, 2000; Kymlicka, 1998; Marcuse, 1995). The residents and immigrants (minority groups) of the global city require finer grain distinctions to reflect their racial and ethnic segmentation. Logan’s (2000) investigation on different occupational and residential segmentation tendencies of earlier immigrant groups (Germans and Irish) and later immigrant groups (Russian and Italian) of New York makes a case in point.

There are other significant changes in the structure of contemporary urban divisions. Firstly, unlike earlier partitions—for example, in the commercial city, where divisions between the rich and the poor were mainly customary—today, the gap between the rich and the poor—and their respective spaces—has grown, and in most cases, has been filled with walls, i.e. gated communities (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000). Mallenkopf and Castells’ (1991) *Dual City* metaphor is used to explain this situation. Gated communities and high-income enclaves are becoming more evident in city centres via slum clearance and gentrification, and these processes are attracting increasing attention from scholars (see, for example, Butler, 2003; Lees, 2003; Smith,

2002). Harlem in New York City and Canary Wharf in London are examples of these gentrification processes. Secondly, quarters of the city became more and more self-sufficient—daily life within them can be carried out without leaving them. Residential, commercial, and recreational uses combine together to supply the necessary demand within the exclusive space. This also holds true for the ethnic enclaves of extremely divided societies, where each ethnic group has a complete set of ethnic institutions—religious, educational, welfare etc.—on a specific geographical location (Boal et al., 1976; Boal, 1994, 1996).

Without a doubt, some places in the city are affected from macro-scaled processes more than others. Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) use the term "soft locations" to define these places. Examples of these places are; central city residential, office (The City of London, Lower Manhattan) and old manufacturing areas (lofts); waterfronts (Canary Wharf, Battery Park); fringes of CBDs (gentrification) etc. They are spatial operation fields of macro-forces (Jacobs, 1996; Sassen, 2001).

We define the urban as divided; this implies that there are different areas within a city. A look at the contemporary city discloses these various parts where each part has different roles. Examples of such places are:

- *Global finance enclaves*: Usually clustered in city centres / downtowns, with high-rise, hi-tech office towers. They can also be visible at the edge of the city centre (i.e. Docklands in London, La Défense in Paris). It is the controlling and dominating district of the city.
- *Gentrified neighbourhoods*: Globalisation has created a class of professionals, managers, and technicians which are referred to as 'the gentry' (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000). Gentrified areas are attractive particularly for this group. These neighbourhoods are located near the inner city, where the urban activities are concentrated. The former residents of these areas are the now dislocated working-class populations.
- *Gated communities*: These are the exclusionary enclaves of the rich and the gentry. The walls and security separate them from their immediate surroundings and the rest of the community. Alsayyad and Roy (2006) call this tendency "a distinctive territorialisation of citizenship". Jewish settlements in the West Bank territory are the most problematic examples of gated communities (Rosen and Razin, 2009).

- *Working-class areas*: They are generally occupied by blue- and white-collar working class. These areas are usually seen as transition areas (as in the transition zone of Burgess' concentric city model) and therefore can shelter mixed occupancy. Tensions and hostilities between different categories of inhabitants can thus be a part of every-day life. They might be in close proximity to the city centre (early examples) and be subject to gentrification in time. Other examples are social housing areas built after the Second World War to cope with the large housing demand, and turned into deprived areas in time.
- *Suburbs:* Suburbs are usually homogeneous residential areas for the middle-class. Their inhabitants are connected to the city for work.
- *Squatter settlements*: Informal settlements are usually known as slums, gecekondus, or favelas in different countries. Typically they are located on the fringe of urban explosions. "Slum sprawl is as much of a problem in the developing world as suburban sprawl in the rich countries" (Davis, 2004: 14).
- *Ethnic enclaves*: It would be informative to distinguish between ethnic enclaves of the multicultural and ethno-nationally divided cities. The first one shows the same pattern in all cities: the immigrant population enters the city, finds a low paid job, and residentially stays together with fellow-residents for mutual support (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000). In the latter, ethnic groups which tend to cluster together are not immigrants who entered the country recently. They are 'national minorities' rather than 'ethnic minorities' (Kymlicka, 1998). They cluster together for physical defence, attack, avoidance of outside contact, preservation of own culture, and territorial claims (Boal et al., 1976).
- *Ghettos:* Ghettos are a phenomenon of US cities, usually mentioned by 'racism'. Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) urge that a "new urban ghetto is developing" due to current economic changes, where "race or ethnicity is combined with class in a spatially concentrated area whose residents are excluded from the economic life of the surrounding society".
- *Spaces of exception*: Whether called the 'abandoned or residual city' (Marcuse, 1995), 'grey spaces' (Yiftachel, 2009) or the 'camp' (Alsayyad and Roy, 2006), spaces of exception are places left to the poor, the unemployed, the

excluded, the refugee, or the homeless (especially in the US). Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut can be an example for spaces of exception.

2.1.1.3 Causes of urban division

A holistic historical examination of urban division needs to incorporate two approaches; the historical development of urban division, described above, and causes that explain its endurance nowadays. Only by this way can we understand the current form of these historical tendencies and the way they shape the contemporary city.

Processes which cause segregation—and affect its pattern—are subject of debate among segregation theorists. One way of approaching the subject is via the argument of *top-down* versus *bottom-up* processes (Peach, 2005). Peach (1991) frames this duality in terms of *constraints* versus *choice*. The former is externally imposed, negative, and involuntary, while the latter is internally self-organised, positive, and voluntary (Peach, 1975).

Johnston et-al (2007) are in the same vein. According to them, urban segregation is a consequence of three processes: 'discrimination', 'individual choice', and 'disadvantage' (Johnston et al., 2007):

- *Discrimination* involves institutionalized mechanisms of residential segregation. Studies claiming that segregation is imposed by the actions of the state, real estate agencies, housing associations and other institutional frameworks (see, for example, Marcuse and van Kempen, 2002; van Kempen and Murie, 2009) focus on the demand side—top-down processes, constraints—of the process.
- *Individual choice* refers to the voluntary self-segregation. Scholars suggesting that segregation results from uncoordinated and unintentional actions of individuals (see, for example, Schelling, 1969), their preferences and decision-making processes are more interested in the supply side—bottom-up processes, choice—of the process.
- *Disadvantage* includes the inequalities among the members of a population in labour markets, housing markets, and school systems. For example Musterd et al. (1999) focus on these *structural* (global economic processes and differences between welfare states) components—disadvantage—as the driving forces of segregation.

Focussing on the structural components of segregation will be more helpful to explain why some cities resort to partition while others do not. Even though every city is divided, up till now we have presented that divisions do not take the same form. Some

evolve into what we have contextualised as multicultural cities, and yet others, transform into divided ones. To focus on macro-scaled structural causes of division will facilitate focusing on the dual differentiation we have made. The advantages and disadvantages of voluntary segregation will be presented in the following section.

According to Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011) "urban conflict is not reducible to singular cause or type, and thus distinctions of divisions need to be drawn that respect the complexity and variation" of the city in question. In order to propose a basic and generalised form, Féron et al.'s (2007) approach has been enhanced. Table 2.3 summarises the main reasons of division which have affected the city since historical times up till today. Several points need clarification. First, it should be in mind that all these causes are interrelated; division in a given city can only be explained by a combination of these issues. Second, all types of division have different implications on the ground; each city is affected differently from these processes. Third, causes of division can change in time. For example, even though most conflicts in divided cities start with religious reasons—i.e. Belfast, Nicosia—in time, religion becomes a proxy (Féron et al., 2007) or a label (Boal, 2011) to frame the conflict.

Table 2.3 : Causes of urban division*.

Causes of division	***Main attributes***
Cultural differences Divisions derive from cultural issues, which make them irreconcilable.	Religion; Ethnicity; Race; Identity; Nationality; Culture; Language Differences between communities alleviate tensions Preservation of one's cultural attributes necessitates living together
Socio-economic differences Competition for resources and better economic circumstances deepens divisions.	Competition for economic resources Rising gap between the rich and the poor Demographic changes due to migration for economic advancement Informal economy
Political issues The nature of political claims or the way they are put forward cause divisions among different groups.	Migration due to political oppressions and civil wars Denial of access to citizenship for a certain group Preferential treatment to a certain group Domination/top-down conflict to gain power
Symbolisation of space Spatial conflicts are decisive in most cases and are usually non-negotiable.	Symbolic or strategic importance of a certain place (e.g. Jerusalem) Spatial identity Acknowledging space as indivisible
External factors Processes and actors located outside and on a more global scale have important impacts on the local scale and its divisions.	Decolonisation Globalisation Migration Neighbouring countries European Union Refugees

*Compiled by the author

The first group of explanations regarding causes of division deal with cultural differences in its broadest meaning. The fact that this type of division derives from cultural issues (such as language or religion) makes them irreconcilable. In other words, division relies on a group or community identifying itself with cultural affiliations that actually constitute the essence of that community. The least problematic issue of cultural differences is language. Even though cultural and linguistic aspects are non-negotiable, it is common for different cultural/linguistic groups to live in the same space (Obler, 1976). Multicultural cities are 'cosmopolitan' spaces where in some cases over 100 languages are spoken. For language or culture to become a divisive force, other factors need to be incorporated into the situation (Féron et al., 2007). This is the case in divided cities, where other factors seen as far more significant, such as religion or ethnicity, surpass the differences in language and cultural aspects.

Main attributes of economic resource based divisions are; the rising gap between the rich and the poor; economic discrimination of the poor; and relative deprivation of disadvantaged groups and regions. The popular dual city metaphor with its socio-spatial divisions (voluntary 'gated communities' of the wealthy versus involuntary 'slums' or 'ghettoes' of the poor) develop from this competition (Mallenkopf and Castells, 1991).

Demographic changes like migration, difference in birth rates, etc. form another set of issues. Political (wars, ethnic conflicts etc.), economic (globalisation, migration from less developed to more developed countries in order to improve economic position), and environmental (natural disasters) forces can cause mass migration and therefore increase the ethnic diversity of cities (Sandercock, 2000a). The reason of migration determines the relationship between the immigrants and the receiving society (Kymlicka, 1998), hence, the level of division. According to the principles of the Chicago School, and as can be seen in immigrant receiving cities like London, New York and Paris, the newcomers tend to concentrate with their own communities in a specific region (central city regions for New York and London; suburbs for Paris). In the case of divided cities, it is rather easy to observe that mass immigrations cause the already volatile scenery of a city to worsen.

Civil wars, ethnic conflicts, extreme political oppressions like apartheid, international wars and military coups or interventions are crucial reasons of division in divided

cities. Beirut, Mostar, Jerusalem, and Belfast were all divided due to civil wars or ethnic conflicts. Second World War was a major international war that divided Berlin among four superpowers, and eventually among two blocks. Nicosia's final state of division was due to a Greek military coup, and Turkish intervention. But again, before the coup, there was internal strife between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots which almost culminated into a civil war.

Political factors effecting division in multicultural cities can be explained by the second set of issues, regarding access to political scene. In order to link this concept to the urban, it can be thought together with 'the right to the city' proposed by Lefebvre in the 1960's (Lefebvre, 2006). This notion recognises the importance of participation and representation of a citizen in the urban public. In multicultural societies, these rights may be denied from minority populations. This is why multiculturalism/immigration policies of countries play an important role as they define the limits of access, freedom, rights and participation of communities living within their boundaries.

The importance of a certain territory is more pronounced in divided cities. Bonds with territory can be something which evolves in time, by a certain group living in a certain space for decades and claiming and demarcating this space as its own. On the urban ground, institutionalisation in a specific territory reinforces group solidarity and territorial manifestation (Brand, 2009a, 2009b; Boal, 1978). In other circumstances, territory itself can be a reason for division, or in other words, the point of origin for division (Calame and Charleswoth, 2009). Jerusalem's symbolic importance for all religions, for instance, renders it the land of disputation. Eventually, territory constitutes a 'spatial identity', and as in identity issues, it is one of the most intractable aspects of division (Collier, 2007; Knox and Pinch, 2010). However, territorial identity is not particular to divided cities. It can be evidenced in every other city around the world. For example in Paris, being from the *banlieue* is a means of self-identification as well as a classification medium for the rest of the Parisians.

It can be said that impacts of globalisation are felt more in multicultural cities which receive mass immigration due to mobilisation of peoples and capital. Divisions along socio-economic differences are more prominent in these cities, often layered with ethnic differences. On the other hand, impacts of political and ideological oppressions and wars are more emphasised in divided societies. Questions of identity, territory,

culture, language, and religion are at the fore, and they are usually layered with socio-economic differences.

According to Sandercock (2000a) decolonisation processes affect both kinds of cities. In divided societies (the colonies), the colony was polarised socially and partitioned physically to restrict conflict circumstances. Its effects on multicultural societies are visible in the post-colonial period: colonized peoples left their country to go to the heartland of the colony in order to run away from the problems of their newly independent and economically weak states. Yiftachel (2009) refers to these processes as 'old' (created from above—the colonizer) and 'new' (created from below—the colonized people) types of colonial relations respectively. Both are still effective in the partitioning of urban space.

Immigration is a constitutive process of not only decolonisation, but also globalisation (Sassen, 2001), rendering global cities more diversified than ever to earn the name 'multicultural cities'. Highly educated service workers entering cities due to globalisation are adding socio-economic divisions to the already existing ethnic ones. An inevitable consequence of this is confrontations between different groups. Since cities are arenas where people voice their claims, conflicts and tensions within cities are becoming an ever more significant reality of our urban lives.

2.1.1.4 Positive and negative aspects of urban division

Even though there is a general agreement that heterogeneous neighbourhoods are socially more advantageous, in practice, homogeneity appears to be more frequently observed in modern cities (York et al., 2010). Apart from academic discourses, all countries around the world have a tendency to perceive segregation as a bad thing, and therefore try to combat it on a political basis. This tendency has been fuelled by the latest racial tensions in certain European countries (such as 2005 Paris and 2011 London riots), as well as the dark images of the American ghetto (Bouma-Doff, 2007). According to these policy discourses, ethnic segregation is a result of a lack of socio-economic assimilation and integration (Bolt et al., 2010). But as Lefebvre (2006) asserts, regardless of the good intentions and the humanist ideology a government embraces, "segregation always wins over".

The two distinct viewpoints on the matter, arguing whether segregation is good or bad, spring from the works of constraints (top-down / discrimination) and choice (bottom-

up) schools mentioned in the previous section. But as Peach (1996a, 1996b) reminds us, segregation has both negative and positive attributes; it is not an either-or situation. It should be in mind that these approaches evaluate the process of segregation from a social geography perspective, and their results will be helpful to understand the functions of segregation.

Scholars promoting the undesirable aspects of segregation are a member of the *ghettoization literature*, or the *isolationist thesis*. They argue that segregation is negative because it reduces contact between ethnic groups and the host society (see, for example, Bouma-Doff, 2007). Here, ethnic segregation is seen "as divisive, as preventing understanding, as reducing social interaction between groups and individuals and as leading to mistrust" (Peach, 1996a, 1996b). According to Peach, this is an assimilationist approach, where the reduction of the level of social, cultural, and/or spatial assimilation is perceived to be a bad thing.

Literature tends to emphasise the negative aspects of segregation. Generally accepted disadvantages of ethnic segregation are summarised by Bolt et al. (1998):

- *Economic disadvantages*: Due to reduced social contact, the unemployed has no access to information on availability of jobs. Concentration of low-income households also leads to fewer opportunities.
- *Norms and values*: Clustering of poverty, unemployment and welfare dependency creates a local climate, a neighbourhood culture that generates attitudes and practices which further the isolation of a group.
- *Education*: Foreign children might have less chance to receive good education. This also causes the lack of foreign students to learn the majority language.
- *Politics*: High degree of segregation may cause coalitions with other ethnic groups to become impossible. Further, lack of contact with the host society discourages involvement in social institutions and political activities.
- *Amenities and the neighbourhood*: Concentration of poverty has negative effects on the presence of amenities, specifically if the residents are not capable of demanding public facilities they need. This can set a stage for deteriorating living conditions. Homeowners or dwellers who do not want to invest in their homes in these neighbourhoods contribute to a cycle of decline.
- *Development of stereotypes*: The residents of concentrated neighbourhoods may have a negative image on the rest of the population.

In contrast, the *ethnic enclave literature*, or the *emancipation thesis*, argues that segregation is not all bad and in fact, can be used as a mechanism to accommodate

difference (Peach, 1996a, 1996b; Drever, 2004; Neill, 1996). The possible advantages of segregation are given much less attention in literature. This pluralist and/or multicultural approach contends that segregation can help the advancement of a minority group in a variety of ways. The following can be conceptualised as the "functions of segregated ethnic enclaves", or in other words, the reasons for clustering together (congregation) of minority ethnic groups:

- *Cultural preservation*: For many ethnic groups, there remains a desire to maintain their distinctive identity. This is usually maintained by endogamy and school systems (Boal, 1978).
- *Mutual support*: Clustered in a mutually supportive haven, members of an ethnic group have the opportunity to avoid hostility and build social networks and ethnic institutions.
- *Economic advantages*: Mutual support also provides protected niches for ethnic enterprises (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Concentration of ethnic groups, create the economic base for specific types of business (Bolt et-al, 1998).
- *Physical defence*: This function of an ethnic enclave is usually more visible in cities which have active conflict. According to Boal et al., (1976) and Boal (1978) a clearly defined area enables organised defence and homogeneity, and is equated with security.
- *Resistance*: Another rigid function of defensive ethnic segregation is to form a basis for action in the struggle of its members with wider society. This could be done in two ways: peaceful political negotiations; or violent actions.
- *Political advantages*: The concentration of ethnic groups in specific locations can make the influence of policies on the local level possible. This means that concentration of people who belong to the same group may attract the attention of politicians (Bolt et al., 1998).

We can summarise both approaches in Bouma-Doff's (2007) words:

> To summarise: both isolation thesis and emancipation thesis consider contacts to be of great significance. Adherents of the isolation thesis consider ethnic networks to form a risk to the process of integration, for ethnic concentration tempts ethnic minorities solely to associate themselves with members of their own ethnic group. […] Representatives of the emancipation thesis, on the other hand, emphasise the importance of ethnic networks, as immigrants obtain economic and social support from ethnic ties. (Bouma-Doff, 2007, p. 1002-1003)

Scholars tend to use the vocabulary of ethnic enclave literature (positive attributes) for divided societies. This is used as a means for explaining why a group feels the need to self-segregate. On the other hand, negative attributes are more pronounced by scholars dealing with multicultural cities. Here, top-down discriminatory policies in housing

and the like are seen as causing involuntary segregation. Scholars who promote 'good segregation' (Peach, 1996a, 1996b; Drever, 2004; Neill, 1996) assert that the positive attributes of segregation should not be overlooked. In other words, "politics of difference" (Sandercock, 2000a, 2000b) should be emphasised in order to produce truly multicultural cities.

As mentioned before, the above explanations evaluate the social processes and functions of segregation. If we undertake a more urban approach and focus solely on divided cities, we see that disadvantages of division/segregation overweigh its advantages.

The foremost disadvantage of division is that it is expensive (Nightingale, 2012). To divide a city, an enormous capital is needed for activities like building a wall, deploying armed forces, investing in service allocation and resources etc. Kozlowski's (1968) Threshold Theory is explanatory in this respect. Threshold theory refers to an urban growth situation where there are physical, technological, and structural limitations to growth (Kozlowski, 1968; Hewings, 1975). These limitations are called 'development thresholds' and exceeding them result in high per capita costs. Thinking in terms of divided cities, the threshold limits are exceeded long before they are fully operationalised. In other words, the optimisation of current situation is not fulfilled; instead new burdens are created for unnatural and unexpected growth of the city. These burdens include the creation of new functional zones, allocation of urban amenities, re-organisation of transportation networks and the like.

This brings us to another important negativity of division. With urban partitioning, the integrity of the city is lost and undermined. The city no longer functions as a single unit. The consequences of this will be explained in section 2.3, where the city will be conceived as a system.

2.1.2 Describing multiculturalism

The duality set forth by a great variety of scholars while identifying 'divided cities' is in line with the distinction Kymlicka (1998) makes between 'multi-ethnicism' and 'multi-nationalism', while presenting his definition of 'multiculturalism'. According to Kymlicka, multiculturalism is somewhere in between multinationalism and multiethnicisim. A country is multicultural if it shelters members who *belong* to another nation (multinational) and/or members who have *emigrated* from another

nation (multiethnic). In the first case, these 'national minorities' are cultures which have been incorporated into another government by usually involuntary processes like colonization, invasion or occupation (referred to as divided cities in this thesis). In the second case, cultural diversity rises from individual or familial immigration and results in formations of 'ethnic groups' in a given society (referred to as multicultural cities in this thesis). As a result, the main difference between the two forms lies in the incorporation processes of the minority group into the majority society.

Kymlicka's definition allows us to connect the term multiculturalism to divided and multicultural cities. Yet, basic definitions of the term are necessary since this expression has gained significant popularity in the last decades:

- as a *description*: "social demographic of polities where different cultural communities live together and attempt to build a common life while preserving their 'original' identity" (Vasu and Ramakrishna, 2006),
- as a *fact*; "the presence of people of diverse racial or ethnic backgrounds within a single polity" (Citrin et al., 2001; Bourne, 2007),
- as a *public philosophy*: "acknowledges racial and cultural differences in a society and encourages their sustenance and expression as constituent elements of a national social order" (Qadeer, 1997), and
- as a *policy*: "political decision to embrace and accommodate difference" (Sandercock, 2000a).

In the case of contemporary urban studies, 'multicultural cities', 'cosmopolitan cities' and 'global cities' are frequently encountered and interrelated concepts used for characterizing contemporary cities (Hall, 2006). Despite its current popularity, multiculturalism is not new to cities. Throughout history, cities have been recorded as centres of cultural diversity and convergence (Lefebvre, 1996). What made multiculturalism prominent in our present world is a combination of several interdependent and overlapping processes, the most significant ones being globalisation, decolonisation, and migration (Sandercock, 2000a).

What is important to comprehend at this point is that 'multicultural cities' may not necessarily be multicultural in a political sense. Only if multiculturalism as public philosophy transforms into a policy may such a condition be achieved. Multiculturalism as policy emerges from both central and local governments (Bourne 2007; Sandercock 2000a; Amin 2002):

(1) At the *national* level, involves questions of citizenship, nation, and national identity.
(2) At the *local* level, the challenge concerns integration of different cultures and local negotiations.

These challenges are interrelated; national decisions affect local practices, and vice versa. The first challenge determines the level of multiculturalism in effect in a certain national territory. The second challenge contains adaptability of the built environment—housing, public space, recreational and commercial facilities, religious places—to newcomers, and thereby, plays an important role in urban policy, planning and design practices (Sandercock, 2000a). This will be explained in more detail in section '2.2.3 Planning in multicultural cities'.

The introduction of multicultural policies into national government agendas takes place around 1960s (Grillo, 2000b). In the past, cultural diversity was often seen as a threat to political stability (Url-1). This *old multiculturalism* approach is based on the 'American assimilationalist model', where assimilation is seen as the only outcome (Peach, 2005). Today, however, *new multiculturalism* is based on the post-World War Two notions of human rights and equity (Qadeer, 1997), and demands the acknowledgement of multicultural values into the arena of public policy.

There are no universally-accepted multiculturalism policies. However, multicultural policies can be sub-divided into mild/weak/soft and hard/strong types of multiculturalism (Table 2.2).

Table 2.4 : Main attributes of different multiculturalism policies*.

	Mild / Weak / Soft Multiculturalism	***Hard / Strong Multiculturalism***
Group difference & cultural diversity	- Neutral or recognised and accepted in private sphere	- Affirmed and recognized in the public sphere - Ethnicity is the preferred basis of identity
Services	- A degree of assimilation in employment, housing, education and health/welfare systems and acculturation in many areas of life	- Special provision in education, health care and welfare etc.
Representation	- Acceptance of liberal political culture	- Organisation of representation on ethnic/cultural lines

*Compiled from Grillo, 2000b; Qadeer, 1997; Citrin et al., 2001; Vasu and Ramakrishna, 2006.

2.1.3 Locating multiculturalism, division and segregation

It is possible to place different attitudes towards multiculturalism on a continuum and integrate this with physical appearance of ethnic groups and the level of division.

Figure 2.1 demonstrates such an approach by combining related work of different scholars. Figure 2.1 is drawn to inspire thought, not as a rigid reality. Instead of binary differentiations, it is fruitful to examine division and multiculturalism on a spectrum. By doing so, the relations between them and their relation with the urban form can be acknowledged with less effort.

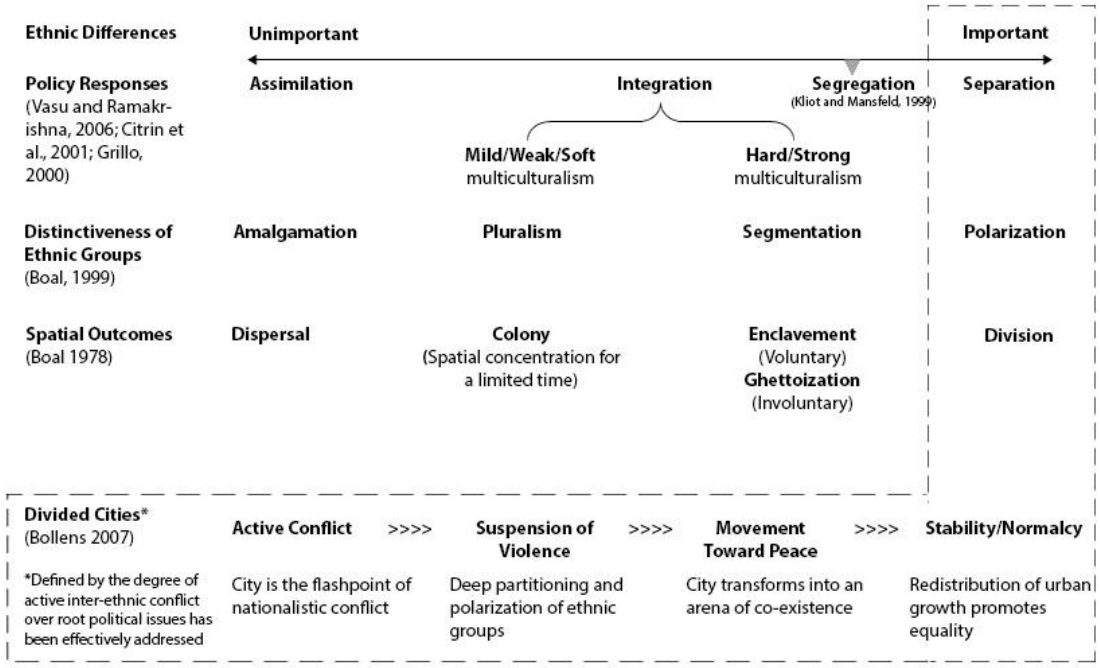

Figure 2.1 : Levels of multiculturalism and division (compiled by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Vasu and Ramakrishna (2006) assert that there are three positions a multicultural society can be placed on a multiculturalism policy continuum: *assimilation*, *integration*, and *separation*. Scholars usually concentrate on the analysis of (multiculturalism) policies aiming assimilation and integration (see for example Peach, 2005; Johnston et al., 2007). There is a lack of analysis regarding the separation end of the continuum, where the divided cities discourse stands and this thesis aims to investigate. The reason of this lack is mainly because partition is a 'last resort' preferable to civil war or the like (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999). Policy responses in such circumstances are not produced until the conditions start to exist. According to Vasu and Ramakrishna (2006) two forms of separation can exist: (1) apartheid (as in the example of South Africa); or (2) political, economic, and social autonomy (for example Northern Cyprus). Hence, it is at this end where divided cities and their distinctive discourse stand.

When ethnic differences among groups become unimportant, assimilation is attributed to be 'successful'. "Assimilation is the process by which one group takes on cultural and other traits of a larger group 'to become part of something greater'" (Url-2). Assimilation has different forms like economic, cultural, and civic; further, one form of assimilation does not necessarily indicate another (Vidgor, 2009).

Vasu and Ramakrishna (2006) assert that integration is a means to advocate a politics of multiculturalism. The term, in essence, refers to *social integration*. Social integration is defined by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Url-3) as "[…] a dynamic and principled process where all members participate in dialogue to achieve and maintain peaceful social relations. Social integration does not mean coerced assimilation or forced integration". At this point, it is important to differentiate social integration from the subject of this thesis, urban integration. Detailed explanations for what is meant by urban integration will be given in '2.2.4 Systems view'. However, for now it will be sufficient to say that urban integration denotes the physical side of integration, not the social.

It is noteworthy to assert Kliot and Mansfeld's (1999) view on segregation and division at this point. According to them, segregation lies between integration and separation/division (Figure 2.1). Their viewpoint emerges from the need to understand the differing levels of segregation. This perspective is an important foundation for this research since it identifies the relationship of segregation with division.

The second row of Figure 2.1 presents Boal's (1999) scenarios approach which illustrates the appearance of ethnic groups in a city. Boal summarizes four scenarios regarding the distinctiveness of ethnic groups; *assimilation*, *pluralism*, *segmentation*, and *polarization*. Assimilation refers to the condition where inter-group differences disappear. The pluralism scenario represents the situation where there is considerable social integration but some separate ethnic institutions and cultural attributes are maintained. In the case of segmentation, there is a tendency towards separation with well-developed ethnic institutional systems. On the other hand, polarization identifies a city which is characterised by division along ethno-national lines.

The spatial patterning of ethnic minority groups with regards to their host society is given in the next row. Here, Boal (1978) identifies four types of spatial outcomes:

dispersal, *colony*, *enclave* and *ghetto*. The last column, division, is added by the author to denote the relation of Boal's classification with divided cities.

Theoretically, spatial outcomes of different policy approaches are divergent. According to Johnston et al. (2007) they are even rhetorical since "government actions rarely directly influence residential segregation". Therefore, on the ground, it would not be easy to pinpoint exact spatial outcomes for each policy. The important point here is to grasp the temporal aspect of these outcomes. This connotes that these spatial outcomes are situations that evolve in time.

Building on the assumptions of Chicago School, it is acknowledged that residential dispersal is a concomitant process of assimilation (Boal, 1978; Peach, 2005). Massey (1985) refers to this process as "spatial assimilation". In contrast, multiculturalism leads to the maintenance of residential segregation and prevention of ethnic identity. Thus, if policies are aimed at preventing assimilation, segregation is a key mechanism: "[...] under assimilation, socio-economic progress is expected to lead to suburbanisation and diffusion, under multiculturalism, socio-economic progress leaves the group concentrated irrespective of whether it is in the inner city or the suburbs." (Peach, 2005, p. 4)

Weak multicultural policies coincide with Boal's *colony* formation. According to him, colony is the port-of-entry for a new-coming ethnic group (Boal 1978). Since weak approaches to multiculturalism call for a certain degree of assimilation in other domains (Table 2.4), spatial assimilation also occurs (Bolt, et al., 2010) and the colony's continuity depends on constant influx of the ethnic group. In other words, colony is the transition zone of Burgess' concentric zones (see section 2.2.1).

Although Boal (1999) defines segmentation scenario as a pre-phase of polarization—where inter-ethnic relations are deteriorating—here, segmentation is used to portray milder situations of voluntary socio-spatial 'enclavement'. If a group is not culturally assimilated and spatially dispersed, the colony may turn into an *enclave*. This is usually a product of the interaction between discrimination policies and internal group cohesiveness (Knox and Pinch, 2010).The opposite situation, involuntary 'ghettoization' may be a consequence of unfavourable ethnic relations. If discrimination policies or other external factors are more dominant than internal cohesion, the residential clusters are generally referred to as *ghettos*.

The bottom component of Figure 2.1 represents a more detailed spectrum of separation-end of the multiculturalism continuum. This is where the divided cities can be placed. Bollens (2007) proposes four categories along an 'urban conflict-stability continuum' according to the degree of effectively addressing active inter-group conflict over root political issues. Such a continuum is not meant to assert that there is a generic linear progression from conflict to post-conflict. It solely facilitates to understand and compare different types of contested cities. Bollens (2007) exemplifies each category by giving examples from cities: Jerusalem for active conflict; Nicosia for suspension of violence; Belfast for movement toward peace; and, Berlin for stable/normal.

2.2 Division, Multiculturalism and Urban Planning

Conceptual descriptions on urban division and multiculturalism can only bear meaning for this research if they are theoretically linked to urban planning. The following subsections aim to do this by giving insights on how division and multiculturalism can be interpreted with regards to urban theories and planning.

2.2.1 Evolution of urban theories with regards to division

Our understanding of the city has changed substantially and this inevitably has changed the way of urban theory making. In early day urban theories, there was an emphasis on 'structure', 'form', and 'physicalism'. In time this emphasis shifted to 'process', 'behaviour', and 'change'. In other words, the urban form was first *designed*, then *described* and then *explained* (Harris, 1961). A brief description will be given for the changing nature of urban theories with specific reference to their relevance to urban segregation and division processes when applicable.

Before going forward, it is important to note what urban theories account for. According to Fainstein (2007), the distinction between urban theories and planning theories is not intellectually viable due to 1| the historical roots and justification for planning; 2| the dependence of effective planning on its context; and 3| the objective of planning to create a just city. These reasons have caused planning theory to remain limited compared to urban theory making. Given these circumstances, this section deals with urban theories but seeks to highlight important planning theories which can be linked to division.

Design oriented approaches

Unpleasant conditions in cities due to industrial revolution made urban thinkers theorize about ideal cities and how they can be achieved. As a result, starting from the late 19th century, "more abstract conceptions of the ideal city system based on social and economic ideas of utopia became important" (Batty and Longley, 1994).

Olmsted's *City Beautiful* of 1893 is one of the first movements which tackled with the devastating conditions of cities. The aim was to 'beautify' the city by urban design practices, and by doing so, create cohesion between urban dwellers with the usage of public spaces (Ersoy, 2007). It was pre-assumed that the better-off part of the population living in the suburbia would return to the new and beautified city centres.

Howard's *Garden City* movement of 1898 is different from Olmsted's approach, in that it is focused on moving away from the city, rather than restructuring public spaces in the city. Howard's notion that working class deserved better and more affordable housing (Ersoy, 2007) is the social aspect of his approach which connects it to segregation.

Neo-classical approaches

In the nineteenth century urban hierarchies were being redefined due to economic developments, industrialization and urban growth. These developments caused economic geographers to focus on industrial location and competition among places. The neoclassical *location theory*, developed by Von Thünen in 1826, where concentric zones of different uses of land tend to form an urban market/centre (McLoughlin, 1969), was mainly about the competitive operation of the land market (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011).

Taking this theory of economic geography one step further is Christaller's *central place theory* of 1933. Christaller demonstrated how, under certain conditions, a hierarchy of places would surface in a hexagonal pattern shaped by market areas. Apparent in its name, central place theory is associated with the terms 'core' and 'periphery' (Leimbgruber, 2004); where competition to provide high-order services produces central cities as well as unserved small towns.

Even though central place theory attracted a lot of attention, in time it became clear that the variations of historical and geographical contexts were ignored (Wyly, 2010). Furthermore, they were criticized for only dealing with firms; building abstract

models; and disregarding regional or international economies (Wyly, 2010; Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011).

Chicago School

By the twentieth century with the advent of the 'industrial city', Park (1915, 1936) and the Chicago School of Urban Sociology produced enormously influential theoretical and empirical work on cities. Theorists of this school used a biological metaphor—a social organism—to produce a scientific view of the city. The works of Chicago School are famous for transforming planning from a design profession to a social science (Fainstein, 2007). Three traditional approaches splintered from the works of this school; the human ecology approach, social areas analysis and factorial ecology.

Human ecology.

Human ecologists can be seen as the first group of researchers who systematically paid attention to the description of patterns of spatial segregation (van Kempen and Murie, 2009). The most distinctive feature of the approach was its emphasis on the city as a 'social organism', with individual behaviour and social organisation governed by a 'struggle for existence' (Knox and Pinch, 2010). As it was conceived at a time when Darwinism was strong, the urban space was seen as where the fittest social groups could survive best in struggle for best settlement (Park, 1936).

Main concepts of this approach are as follows; (1) 'competition' between various population groups in the city; (2) 'dominance' of a particular group or certain functional areas; (3) 'natural areas' which are the results of social and ecological processes; (4) 'invasion' of a natural area by a competing group; and (5) the ultimate 'succession' of a competing group in a natural area (Park, 1936).

The spatial model of the human ecology approach was first introduced by Burgess during the 1920s, and then altered by Hoyt in 1930s and later by Harris and Ullman in 1940s (Figure 2.2).

Burgess' *concentric zone hypothesis* emphasised the importance of growth from the centre by suggesting four zones moving out concentrically from Zone 1, the central business district. These zones were classified according to types of residential areas; in terms of density of the dwelling units and socio-economic status of the residents (Anderson and Egeland, 1961). The main argument of this hypothesis is that new coming immigrants first concentrate in the less-expensive zone (Zone 2: transitional

zone), and once they have upgraded their economic status, move outwards to higher-status residential zones. The underlying process was characterized by invasion and succession, where one group invades and succeeds the other as it moves upwards on the economic, and outwards on the spatial scales (Murdie and Ghosh, 2010; see, for example, Massey's identification of 'spatial assimilation' in this context). Here, assimilation was acknowledged as the only possible outcome (Peach, 2005) and the final pattern of segregation was seen as a 'natural equilibrium' (van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998) or 'biotic balance'.

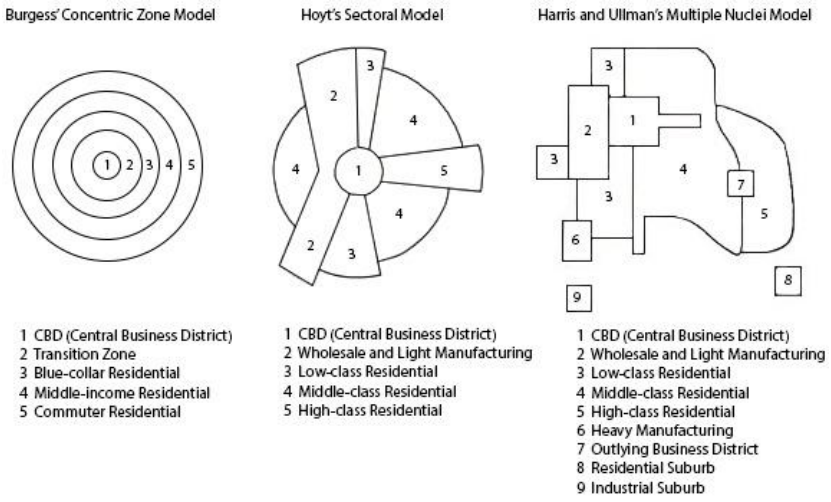

Figure 2.2 : Spatial models of Human Ecology approach (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Another representative of the Chicago School is Hoyt with his *sectoral approach*. Here, the city is divided into sectors (in an axial pattern mainly along transport routes), within which a concentric pattern may or may not be found (Anderson and Egeland, 1961). These sectors (residential areas) are determined by average rental value of a dwelling unit. In this way, Hoyt modifies the CBD-centred position of Burgess' hypothesis.

The next most popular alternative view was developed by Harris and Ullman (1945) and is known as *multiple nuclei*. This is usually regarded as a metropolitan phenomenon rather than urban (Berry and Rees, 1969). The idea of a unitary city form is abandoned, and instead it is argued that multiple employment centres form the nuclei of multiple residential patterns (van Kempen, 2000).

Nevertheless, human ecologists have been criticized for many reasons. The most important one was put forward by Wirth (1945), another theorist from the Chicago

School, who emphasised the importance of social and cultural dimensions instead of biological models. Another criticism is that they excessively rely on competition as the basis of social organisation, where ahistorical individuals make their locational decisions on the basis of rational economics (Timms, 1978).

Social area analysis.

The human ecology approach was followed by an empirical approach proposed by Shevky and Bell in 1955 to investigate Los Angeles and San Francisco. They used deductive analysis methods to relate what is happening within the city to the more general changes taking place within the encompassing society (Timms, 1978). They constructed three different indexes to allow comparison of social areas (urban neighbourhoods) within different cities: 'social rank', 'urbanisation', and 'segregation' (Do, 1988). Each index included one to three census variables in order to classify social areas based on their scores (Berry and Rees, 1969).

In their conclusion for spatial aspects of social area analysis, Anderson and Egeland (1961) state that social rank varies primarily sectorially, urbanization concentrically, and segregation on the basis of concentration of certain minority groups—clusters—in limited neighbourhoods of the city.

The importance of social area analysis for this study is because it shows that ethnicity is independently influential on spatial location: "Shevky and Bell turned the focus of study from zones and sectors in the city to nuclei or population clusters within the city" (Driedger, 2003). Thus, they made it easier to think about social clusters with distinct ethnic cores.

Factorial ecology.

Factorial ecology is an outgrowth of social area analysis. The difference mainly lies in two facts: that factorial ecology is an inductive method, and that it can comprise a wider set of variables. Factorial ecology has been used to analyse relationships between different groups of variables (social, economic, demographic and housing characteristics) with the objective of establishing common patterns (Knox and Pinch, 2010). The relationships between variables and spatial patterns—ecology—are called factorial ecology (Rees, 1971).

Findings of factorial ecology studies—mainly conducted in American cities—have coincided with Shevky and Bell's dimensions: 'socio-economic status', 'family

status', and 'ethnic status'. When these three social dimensions are superimposed on the physical space of the city, they form a lattice of sectors, zones, and segregated areas of 'communities' with similar social, family and ethnic status (Berry and Rees, 1969; Knox and Pinch, 2010).

Factorial ecology became insufficient with time since it did not account for economic, technological, demographic and social change, such as, the emergence of 'migrant status' (Timms, 1978) and the increasing complexity of ethnic differentiation (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

Advocative and equity planning

Despite Chicago School's attempts to induce social aspects into planning profession, critiques developed within the social movements of 1960s and 1970s (Fainstein, 2007). Jane Jacobs' ground-breaking book, 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' published in 1963 was the first attempt to propose new planning strategies instead of offering sole critique (Jacobs, 1996). Similar proposals came from Paul Davidoff's advocacy planning in 1965, and Norman Krumholz's equity planning in 1982.

Building on to the legal advocacy system, Davidoff proposed a planning method for plural communities to defend their own interests from within their own neighbourhoods with the help of advocate planners representing low-income, minority groups existing within these neighbourhoods (Achugbue, 2005; Stiftel, 2000; Hudson et al., 1979). Davidoff assumed that many neighbourhoods would determine their own advocates, however if this was not accomplished, it would be duty of the city governments to appoint advocates to represent the neighbourhood (Stiftel, 2000).

Davidoff's concept was based on equity and commitment (Qadeer, 1997). Krumholz built his equity planning approach on advocative planning principles and pressed for "priority attention to the goal of promoting a wider range of choices" to address all proportions of the society (Fainstein, 2007).

According to Fainstein (2007), "For neither Davidoff nor Krumholz was participatory or deliberative democracy the principal goal, but social inclusion was—inclusion not necessarily in the discussion of what to do but inclusion in having access to the benefits of the city" (p. 124).

Behavioural approaches

Starting from 1970s, an emphasis on relationships between the urban and individual behaviour surfaced. This approach was mainly inductive; it aimed to develop generalized spatial patterns based on investigations at the micro-level (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). Explanations included preferences, perceptions, and decision-making processes of the individual in residential mobility, hence encompassing the demand side of the housing market. Peach (1991) refers to this approach as 'choice school', where choices of households are linked to family life cycles (e.g. marital status, family size), income, life-style preferences, and employment location (Berry and Rees, 1969). Characteristics of the dwelling—e.g. floor space, number of rooms, type or ownership, price—also affect choice (van Kempen and Murie, 2009).

The ethnic-cultural approach.

This approach is a special form of behavioural approaches, where differences among housing conditions and residential patterns are attributed to cultural and ethnic differences between groups. It allows for constraints to be included to the explanation, but only when these constraints are relevant to race and culture (van Kempen, 2002). Peach (1991) exemplifies this aspect while reviewing a book on housing conditions of ethnic minorities in Britain: "[…] within the circumscribed areas available to them, ethnic minorities did exercise choice". The fact that differences within groups are as important as differences between groups is the most promising part of this approach.

Deterministic approaches

Investigators of the relationship between space and behaviour may fall into deterministic perspectives while separating 'cause' and 'effect'. In other words, distinguishing whether people's behaviour patterns are responsible for their urban condition or a response to it can provoke either cultural or environmental determinism. According to Soja (1980), the 'socio-spatial dialectic' is ignored by proponents of both deterministic approaches. In her words: "the primary source of misunderstanding over the relationship between social and spatial structures may lie in the failure […] to appreciate the essentially dialectical character of this relationship" (Soja, 1980).

Amos Rapoport (2003, 1977) is a pioneer investigator of such a socio-spatial dialectic, striving to understand the relationships between culture and environment. According to him, the importance of culture is not sufficiently acknowledged by planners,

designers and architects, causing the built environment to become disjointed from the societies it shelters. In his book, titled *Human Aspects of Urban Form* (1977), he sets the foundations of environment-behaviour studies, emphasising that cultural aspects are determinant in shaping our living areas, as much as environmental aspects are.

Cultural determinism.

By the 1960s, particular sociologists were convinced that it was 'social' rather than 'geographical' location which really mattered (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). The emphasis of most research in behavioural approaches has been in the way of thinking that urban settings influence individual and group behaviour, and hence, 'deviant' behaviour is caused by depraved urban settings (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

Wirth's popular classic essay, 'Urbanism as a way of life', published in 1969, carries deterministic overtones relevant to individual and group behaviour (Knox and Pinch, 2010). According to him, the culture of urbanisation caused cities to strive for accommodating large numbers of people from a mixed social background and this eventually led to social disorder and dispute (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). In the Wirthian theory, the attachment to 'space' as a cause contributes to cultural determinism.

Environmental determinism.

Environmental determinism is the contrast idea of cultural determinism. In 1960s, cultural theories were introduced to explain urban deprivation. According to these theories, it was environmental, climatic and geographical factors which were responsible for cultures and individual decisions. Designation of 'culture' as a cause produced theories of environmental determinism. This meant that "where people lived greatly influences how they lived" (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011).

A narrower perspective of environmental determinism is *architectural determinism* where it is believed that the built environment is the only determinant of social behaviour. Its roots can be traced from design oriented approaches like Le Corbusier's radiant city to until recent times, for instance, Bentham's Panopticon (Foucault, 1995).

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) was developed in 1970s in this strand. It attempts to deter criminal behaviour through environmental design. Oscar Newman's (1996) 'Creating defensible space' is in this vein. Brand (2009a; 2009b) and Fregonese and Brand (2009) also apply this framework to investigate the

impact of divisive urban artefacts—in Belfast—on the behaviour of the individuals. They conclude that physical interventions should not only be for prevention of crime, but should also encourage desirable behaviour.

Managerialist approaches

The neo-Weberian managerialist approach grew out from the need of reformulating urban theory during a period of urban riots and economic crisis of the 1960s and 70s (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). Its emphasis was on organisation of social space in terms of managerial roles.

While behavioural approaches focused on the demand/choice side, Neo-Weberian approaches were more interested in the 'constraints' side (Peach, 1991). This perspective was used in housing research to explain the segregation and concentration of certain households, with reference to constraints the households faced while choosing their places to live (van Kempen, 2000). Pahl suggested that the key to understand 'constraints' were to be found in the activities, policies and ideologies of the managers ('gatekeepers') of urban systems (cited in Knox and Pinch, 2010).

In this body of research, institutional arrangements and key 'actors' in the housing market were studied in order to explain the outcome of competition between conflicting social groups (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This research revealed important explanations for segregation worth mentioning: (1) objectives of professional officers are not always in the name of 'public interest' which means that stereotyping may cause discrimination; (2) people are distinguished from one another by their strength in the housing market; (3) budget cuts of the state causes declining incomes, inducing concentration of low income groups into neighbourhoods where dwellings are still affordable.

The fact that 'managerial' decisions are themselves subject to constraints by wider economic and political structures of the society, and that these forces are beyond the control of the managers, render urban managers as significant actors but with limited importance in the context of socio-spatial dialectic (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

Neo-Marxist approaches

Pioneers of neo-Marxist approaches are Manueal Castells, Lefebvre (1996) and Harvey (1999). Thinkers of this literature insist that: (a) the urban system is a part of the process of reproduction of labour through consumption; (b) urban services which

are a subject of collective consumption are mainly suitable for politicization; (c) this politicization results in urban social movements and conflicts, and can only be understood as an integral part of fundamental capitalist crisis (Keleş, 2002).

Neo-Marxists are allied with Marxian theories; they attempt to update Marx's ideas of 19th century industrial city—that the underlying mechanism of capitalist society relies on the conflict between capital owners and workers—to the 20th century (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

In Neo-Marxist approaches, social class is the only class taken for granted; ethnicity, religion, nationality, political affiliation and the like are ignored. More importantly, the factor of human agency, in other words, the process of choice—of people to distribute themselves within the same social class—is evaluated poorly (Knox and Pinch, 2010; van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998).

LA School

During the 1980s, a group of scholars based in California, began to study Los Angeles as an emblematic city of the 'postmodern' era. Edward Soja (1995), Mike Davis (1990), and Michael Dear were the main professionals advocating this school. They nominate the Chicago school as the classical modernist vision of the industrial city, and contrast it with the postmodern city of Los Angeles (Dear and Flusty, 1998).

According to Soja (1995) six main 'restructurings' are eminent in Los Angeles which compose a postmodern urban geography:

1. *A shift from Fordist to Post-Fordist urbanization*. Deindustrialisation; more flexible production systems.
2. *Globalisation and the formation of a global system of world cities*. Following Sassen's (2001) 'transnational urban systems argument'; changes in class structure; and the 'dual city' metaphor (Mallenkopf and Castells, 1991).
3. *Fragmentation and decentralization*. Urbanization of the suburbs; Chicago school models (concentric development) are challenged.
4. *Social polarization*. Divisions among multiple ethnicities and identities; increasing income gap; new landscapes of interethnic conflict.
5. *Formation of fortified cities*. Urban developments with gates, barriers etc.; unstable boundaries; enclaves and turfs of opposite groups.
6. *Emerging systems of social control*. Behavioural, cultural, and ideological restructuring; growing power of cyberspace; spaces turned into marketable commodities – 'the city as a theme park' (Dear and Flusty, 1998).

Table 2.5 summarises the development of urban theories evaluated in this section with regards to division and segregation.

Table 2.5 : Development of urban theories and their relevance to segregation*.

Urban Theory	Implications for segregation / division
Design oriented	Designs cities to accommodate all social classes in a more balanced manner with the main area of concern being beautification and better living conditions.
Neo-classical	Underestimates socio-spatial relations that are not determined by economic reasoning. Divides the urban according to the hierarchical patterning of market places, where concentric zones form a central urban market.
Chicago school	Describes segregation as consisting of concentric zones, sectoral patterns, or multiple nuclei. Zones, sectors and nuclei, houses different parts of the population. The zone of transition (zone 2) is the immigrant receiving area; one group invades and succeeds the other by moving upwards on the economic, and outwards on the spatial scales. Assimilation is seen as the only outcome; due to processes of invasion-succession, the dominance of a social group is inevitable. Social areas in cities (urban neighbourhoods) are constructed according to three indices: social rank (socio-economic status), urbanisation (family status), and segregation (ethnic status). These indices form a lattice of sectors, zones, and segregated population clusters (communities) when imposed on physical space.
Behavioural	Acknowledges segregation as at least partly a result of individual preferences, perceptions, decisions and 'choices'. Since different kinds of dwellings are generally located in different parts of the city, segregation of different household types is the logical result. Ethnic-cultural approach emphasizes that differences within groups were as important as differences among them.
Deterministic	Cultural determinists attribute space as the cause of deteriorating social solidarity; Environmental determinists designate culture as the cause for the conditions people live in. Approaches like Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design and Defensible Space claim that physical interventions can prevent undesired behaviour. The 'socio-spatial dialectic' is ignored by proponents of both approaches.
Managerialist	Is used to explain the 'constraints' that households face when choosing their place to live. Main findings: (1) discriminatory/exclusionary policies may cause constraints on ethnic minorities; (2) people are distinguished from one another by their strength in the housing market; (3) budget cuts of the state causes declining incomes, producing concentration of low income groups in neighbourhoods where dwellings are still affordable.
Neo-Marxist	Social class is the major social division; other divisions are not taken into account.
LA school	Acknowledges social polarisation in cities among different ethnicities and identities as well as new fragmented spaces of interethnic conflict. The city is perceived as privatised and political space; fortified with gates, barriers and walls defining the enclaves of opposing groups.

*Compiled by the author.

2.2.2 Planning in divided cities

When dealing with divided cities, planning profession becomes insufficient to cope with the fierce situation of contestations over space. However, the power of planning to change the spatial, economic, social, and political dimensions of urban space has to be accepted in order to move forward. So, the question becomes, which of these dimensions can be used to intensify or lessen intergroup hostilities?

Bollens (1998, 2002, 2007) and Yiftachel (1995) propose a group of 'urban ethnic conditions' which are used in planning processes to exert control or repression in divided cities:

(1) The *territorial dimension* is the most powerful tool used to control and distribute ethnic groups spatially by using particular zoning policies. Land ownership and the drawing of jurisdictional boundaries are also important in this respect.

(2) The *procedural dimension* can be used to include or exclude different sections of society from access to decision-making.

(3) The *economic dimension* is used to allocate urban services and spending. The negative and positive externalities of urbanisation are distributed by planning processes causing situations like deprivation or dependence.

(4) The *cultural dimension* where group identity is maintained or threatened through cultural institutions, education and religious expression.

According to these scholars, planning has to deal with these conditions in order to achieve an effective planning process in divided cities. Benvenisti (1986) proposes four models of planning policy in divided cities. Bollens (1998, 2002, 2007) enhances Benvenisti's models and asserts that each model can be conceptualised around to what degree it addresses urban ethnic dimensions (Table 2.6). These strategies may be employed singularly or together on a citywide or local scale. Bollens (2007) exemplifies each model by a city for a clearer understanding: neutral planning for Belfast; partisan planning for Jerusalem; equity and resolver planning for post-apartheid Johannesburg are his chosen examples. In the third chapter, we will be able to evaluate the consistency of these proposals with our divided city case studies.

Table 2.6 : Models of urban policy strategies (adapted from Benvenisti, 1986 and Bollens, 2007).

Urban Planning Model	Strategies
Neutral Strategy *Tactic*: Address urban symptoms of ethnic conflict at individual level	-Employs technical criteria in allocating urban resources and services. -Distances itself from issues of ethnic identity, power inequalities and political exclusion.
Partisan Strategy *Tactic*: Maintain/Increase disparities	-Furthers an empowered ethnic group's values/authority and rejects the claims of disenfranchised group. -Strategies seek to entrench and expand territorial claims or enforce exclusionary control of access.
Equity Strategy *Tactic*: Address urban symptoms of ethnic conflict at ethnic group level	-Gives primacy to ethnic affiliation in order to decrease inter-group inequalities. -Allocation of urban services and spending is based on group identity.
Resolver Strategy *Tactic:* Address root causes/sovereignty issues	-To connect urban issues to root causes of urban polarization. -İmpacts and authority of government policy is challenged.

Öztoprak (2005) adds another urban strategy to the ones mentioned above: 'cooperative urban strategy':

> […] sovereignty over the city is divided and ethnic groups are cleanly separated from each other. Both communities cooperate as equals to address various urban problems and needs. Urban planning has a role in promoting collaboration between urban policymakers on both sides, which leads to beneficial results for both communities. Therefore each side has equal access to the agenda-setting process. (Öztoprak, 2005, p. 29-30)

She suggests this urban strategy for Nicosia, where Nicosia Master Plan sets such a planning example. The difference of her approach to the previously explained equity and resolver approaches is that collaboration exists while the city remains divided.

In a more extreme vein, Yiftachel and Yacobi (2003) and Yiftachel (2009) identify an 'ethnocratic strategy' where all dimensions of planning (territorial, procedural, economic and cultural) combine to create the ethnocratic city; "this city is classified and represented as mixed but it is dominated by one ethno-national group. Urban citizenship is unequal, with resources and services allocated on the basis of ethnicity, not residency. Urban politics are ethnicised, with a gradual process of ethno-political polarization. Housing and employment markets are officially open, yet marked by deep patterns of ethnic segregation" (Yiftachel, 2006). The ethnocratic strategy appears to be one step further of Bollens' (2007) partisan model.

In their book, *Planning in Divided Cities* (2011), Gaffikin and Morrissey conclude that planning in these cities has to be a collaborative planning model. This approach

denotes "public policy decision-making that is inclusive and based on dialogue among all stakeholders, producing ideally consensual outcome" (Brand et al., 2008). Communicative, dialogic, argumentative or deliberative planning are related concepts to collaborative planning (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011).

According to Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011), the challenge for collaborative planning in divided cities is that there are multiple and rival publics instead of a single public. Since public discourse is closely linked to public space, they suggest that shared spaces have to be created for shared futures. This shared future should be based on creating soft boundaries for facilitating integrated living and collaborative working across divides, rooted in principles of inclusion, respect for diversity, equity and interdependence. To achieve all this, the aim should shift from *managing* to *transforming* the division.

Yiftachel (2006) argues that 'communicative', 'collaborative', 'deliberative', or 'discursive' planning debates of the last decade focus on the role of planners. To evaluate the role of planners in divided cities, Calame and Charlesworth (2009) make a classification among four professional approaches; *compliance, avoidance, engagement* and *advocacy*. According to them, the first two are rather neutral and are not considered to be successful, while the latter two are supported by a sense of professional responsibility and are considered to be more successful. These professional approaches define the planners' perspective of Bollens (2007) and Benvenisti's (1986) planning methods.

2.2.3 Planning in multicultural cities

Today, cities exhibit extreme cultural diversity, and inevitably, problems emerging from proximity of different cultures and social practices. In this framework, Sandercock (2000b) asserts that multiculturalism poses a challenge to planning systems, policies and practices for four main reasons;

- Values and norms of the dominant culture are embedded in legislative frameworks.
- Norms and values of the dominant culture are also embedded in the attitudes, behaviour, and practices of actual planners.
- Planning system is used as an expression or outlet of xenophobia and/or racism within communities and neighbourhoods.

- Western planners are faced with different cultural values that seem incommensurable with their own values.

Sandercock (2000b) then carries on suggesting four responses to these four challenges. The first one is overhauling the planning system, either by legislation or revision, or challenging it in courts to test whether it is consistent with, for example, anti-discrimination legislation. However she also acknowledges that such a response may take a long time, even a generation, since such social movements acquire fierce lobbying. Her second suggestion is to respond to the needs of different cultural groups via market mechanisms. She asserts that this is already taking shape in most cities via ethnic entrepreneurship; stores open up to provide a variety of specialist goods and services (Halal butchers, Asian markets, Indian restaurants etc.). Planning can ease or obstruct such processes through answering to signage requests, allowance of street vendors and displays or taking part in regulation changes regarding retail practices.

However, Sandercock (2000b) emphasises the last two responses in her paper; process-based establishment of dialogue and education of planners to work in cross-cultural contexts. Sandercock (2000c) suggests a planning approach and denominates it as *therapeutic*; which brings antagonistic parties together to talk through their concerns. She asserts that this requires an open and communicative planning process and that it goes beyond collaborative planning's rational processes. Transcendence of collaborative planning is assured by the special role ascertained to planners, almost as if a psychoanalyst, "from storytelling to listening to interpreting visual and body language" (Sandercock, 2000c).

Amin's (2002) emphasis on the importance of creating a discursive public resonates Sandercock's (2000b, 2000c) therapeutic planning method proposal. Amin asserts that dialogue between the different subcultures have to become one between friendly enemies (agonism) rather than antagonists. Amin (2002), like Allen and Cars (2001) suggests that neighbourhood level is where "much of the negotiation of difference occurs". Amin (2002) further argues that "Mixed neighbourhoods should be accepted as the spatially open, culturally heterogeneous, and socially variegated spaces that they are, not imagined as future cohesive or integrated communities" (p. 972). According to him, multiple publics should be promoted instead of the pursuit of a unitary sense of place.

By underlining the local level as the most important one to produce "interculturalism", Amin (2002) proposes four sites of cultural transgression for urban politics to take into account; 1| Universities and colleges; 2| Leisure places, 3| Neighbourhood ventures ran by residents (neighbourhood-watch schemes, communal gardens, childcare facilities etc.); 4| Radical places explicitly designed for cultural confrontations. These places can be referred to as 'shared places' as suggested by Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011). They are places of process and they mark open-ended meeting places.

In a similar vein to Sandercock (2000b), Qadeer (1997) identifies three areas of planning which is prone to be effected by multiculturalism. 1| Technical; race and culture have become significant analytical categories for assessing public needs and social conditions. Analysing housing conditions by ethnicity or delineating neighbourhoods by ethno-cultural criteria are examples of this component. 2| Communication; planners must be sensitive to the needs of individuals in new ways and remove systematic biases existing in planning processes. 3| Participation; procedures regarding participation processes have to be amended to respond to multicultural policies.

In his paper, Qadeer (1997) presents pluralistic planning examples that accommodate multiculturalism through procedural changes, administrational adaptations, redefinition of ideologies and policies. He consequently suggests a "ladder of planning principles supporting multiculturalism" which is in ascending order of importance and, in reality, of chronological evolution:

1 Facilitating access by diverse communities to the planning department.
2 Inclusionary planning process - participation by and representation of multicultural groups on planning committees.
3 Accommodation of diverse needs through amendments and exceptions, case by case.
4 Special District designation for ethnic neighbourhoods and business enclaves.
5 Provision of specific public facilities and services for ethnic communities.
6 Cultural and racial differences reflected in planning policies and acknowledged as bases for equitable treatment.
7 A multicultural vision of the development strategy for a city or region.

Christopher Alexander's book, *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (1977), gives valuable insights for planning on how to evaluate and coordinate the

spatial distribution of different cultures in an urban environment. According to him, "a great variety of subcultures in a city is not a racist pattern which forms ghettos, but a pattern of opportunity which allows a city to contain a multitude of different ways of life with the greatest possible intensity" (Alexander, 1977). This viewpoint coincides with the emancipation thesis (ethnic enclave school) of segregation theorists and Peach's (1996a, 1996b) views on good segregation as well as Amin's (2002) views on how mixed neighbourhoods should appear. Different social worlds with distinctive socio-demographic characteristics and distinctive lifestyles are intensified by the conflict and competition of urban life; new subcultures are formed by the arrival of new immigrants; and as a result, the most effective means of maintaining intergroup tolerance is through spatial segregation (Knox and Pinch, 2010).

Subcultures can be described as subdivisions within the dominant culture with its own norms, values and belief systems. These differentiated subcultures form a mosaic within the city. What Alexander (1977) and his associates pronounce is that this 'mosaic of subcultures' only comes into being if the various subcultures are separated from each other. This separation should be in the name of hampering oppressions and pressures of one group to another, not more. They present real world examples that support these statements and conclude that: "If we look around a metropolitan area, and pinpoint the strongly differentiated subcultures, those with character, we shall always find that they are near boundaries and hardly ever close to other communities" (Alexander, 1977).

According to this view, planning needs to aim for subcultural boundaries which are either composed of *natural wilderness* like farmlands, water etc. or *man-made*; railroads, major roads, parks, schools, housing. The boundaries should also shelter meeting places and shared functions to integrate each community. This coincides with Amin's (2002) perspectives on interculturalism mentioned above.

2.3 Systems View of the City and Urban Planning

Systems view of the city is a constructive way to understand the importance of urban integration, or, in other words, the importance of understanding why division is not a preferable situation for the well-being of the city. Systems view of planning, on the other hand is essential for understanding how "planning change"—in this case, "planning for urban integration"—is conceptualised. In the following, a description of

the city and urban division as a system will be followed by explanations on how planning can treat the (divided) city in the light of systems view.

2.3.1 Systems view of the city

The concept of systems emerged following the Second Word War in the field of communications (cybernetics) and developed by military applications during 1950s. It eventually expanded into new fields like systems engineering, systems theory, systems analysis etc. The need to treat cities as systems originated from these works.

Complex systems theory is a relatively new field of research concerned with understanding systems characterised by nonlinear behaviour, feedbacks, self-organisation, irreducibility, emergent properties, and wholeness (Bertalanffy 1950; Anderson 1972). There is a growing amount of urban literature concerned with theorising cities as complex systems (Portugali, 1997; Batty, 1997, 2008; Batty and Longley, 1994; Batty and Torrens, 2001; Manson, 2001; Baynes, 2009).

A system is composed of interacting and interdependent parts, components or subsystems. They are usually defined as existing in a wider environment with recognition that for the system to function, it has to be in relation with its environment (Batty and Torrens, 2001). Conventional physics only deal with *closed systems* which are considered to be isolated from their environment and their final state is determined by their initial conditions (deterministic). Whereas *open systems* are constantly interacting with their environment and developing according to their internal processes (probabilistic). In this essence, cities are considered as 'open systems': entities comprising interacting and interdependent parts (Berry, 1964) and their environment being points of reference for change (Forrester, 1969).

Urban systems are considered as *social systems* (Bertalanffy, 1950; Chadwick, 1971). Their behaviour is probabilistic and they "do not merely adapt mechanically to their environment but react in a manner which is more creative, in accord with their character" (Chadwick, 1971, p. 315). This is a fundamental point in understanding cities as complex systems.

One of the most important characteristics of systems is its wholeness. Bertalanffy (1950, 1971) notes that this is the foundation of a system; the parts act differently in isolation than in the whole organism. As mentioned earlier, urban integration is conceptualised in this perspective; the term is used to depict the wholeness of the urban

system. The counter position of this is division; where the system no longer resembles a whole, but at least two separate parts. Lozano's (1990) depiction of the urban system is illuminative both for the understanding of the concept of wholeness, as well as our subject of urban division and integration. He assert that "no one area is self-sufficient, and interaction is essential for the survival of the urban system" (p. 81).

A city; 1| is constituted through interactions; 2| is an arena of co-existent heterogeneity; and, 3| is a work in progress which is continuously re-made (cited in Gaffikin et al., 2008). This definition of the city refers to the dynamic attribute of systems. In order to understand the dynamics of change in (open) social systems, several approaches can be presented.

According to Bertalanffy (1950) under certain circumstances, open systems approach a time independent state, the so-called *steady state.* It is not a system in equilibrium, it is in distance from true equilibrium, therefore is capable of doing work (Bertalanffy, 1971). If a steady state is reached in an open system, it is independent of the initial conditions, and determined only by the system parameters – Bertalanffy alludes to this as *equifinality*. By equifinality, it is meant that there is a stubborn tendency in a developing system to reach the same final state despite interventions (Rosen, 1979). This regulatory tendency is referred to as *self-organisation.*

Park's (1936) *biotic balance* resembles Bertalanffy's steady state. After all, both the Chicago School and the systems theory view the city as an organism. Park identifies competition as the main mechanism in preserving the balance between competing groups. Maintenance of this 'biotic balance' preserves the identity and integrity of a community (Park, 1936). While minor fluctuations are mediated or absorbed without disturbing the existing biotic balance, sudden and catastrophic changes, such as wars, upset the balance and alter the future of communal life. This initiates a period of rapid change, and finally moves into a period of stable equilibrium. Undoubtedly, division can be perceived as a sudden, catastrophic change, altering the current balance.

Chadwick (1971) approaches to the discourse of dynamism in cities from a different perspective. According to him, social systems have a tendency of *dynamic conservatism* which means that a complex of individuals tend to maintain its boundaries and its patterns of internal relationships. So, social systems strive to remain in something like an equilibrium – the steady state. The dynamic patterns of social

systems are then characterized by, moving from "zones of stability, through zones of instability, to new stable zones". For change to occur, critical levels of energy are required, which could mean disruption or crisis. Again, division is a major disruptive circumstance which changes the trajectory of the system. As *learning systems*, the social system is able to produce its own states, and there is no need for outside intervention. So after division, the city, as a learning system, self-organises to adapt to its new environment.

Forrester's (1969) *Urban Dynamics* is a constructive perspective to understand the system dynamics of cities. He suggests that *feedback loops* are the fundamental building blocks of systems. In his words, they contain *positive feedback loops* describing growth processes as well as *negative feedback loops* which are goal-seeking and self-regulating. The behaviour of a social system is intimately related to the interaction between positive and negative feedback loops. Forrester's systems model was possibly the first coherent model of a city with feedbacks that operated through time (Baynes, 2009). Emphasising the power of internal forces – 'mechanics of change' – enabled the presentation of a city as a living, self-organising system.

Hall (1973) is another systems engineering theorist who tries to explain change. According to him, if a system is in a gradual change from wholeness to independence, the system is said to undergo *progressive factorisation*. On the other hand, *progressive systematisation* refers to a change towards wholeness. If these two processes occur at the same time, the system can exist in some kind of a steady state. As a result of *progressive centralisation*, as the system evolves, one part emerges as central and controlling agency. It is effortless to reflect these three processes on cities. As a city grows, it goes through factorisation and forms independent parts like suburbs. If pre-existing relations among the parts, or relations among previously unrelated parts are strengthened, or new parts and relations (like transportation networks) are added, the city progresses towards wholeness. Simultaneously, the growth of the city forms a hierarchical order within itself, where the CBD or the financial district for example, becomes the leading part of that city.

Apparently, scholars perceive cities as complex systems that "maintain their structure and coherence under all imaginable changes through adaptation" (Batty and Torrens, 2001, p. 5). The component of 'choice' in response to the changes occurring in the

system gives rise to the origin of the term *emergence*, indicating that such systems have the potential for generating new behaviours (Allen and Strathern, 2005).

The concept of 'emergence' is also akin to *self-organisation*. Self-organisation is a key characteristic of a complex system. It is the property that allows the system to change its internal structure in order to better interact with its environment (Manson, 2001; Portugali, 1997; Camazine, 2009). As interactions are non-linear, the systems are not attracted towards a pre-determined equilibrium. This means that a small change in the parameters of the model (either by internal fluctuations or external perturbations), can modify the dynamic trajectory of the system (Bretagnolle et al., 2006). Cities as a whole may be considered as emergent entities existing near a critical point of self-organisation, far from equilibrium and qualitatively different from their constituent residents and subsystems (Baynes, 2009).

On the other hand, self-organisation is a formal theory, a general umbrella for several theoretical approaches (Portugali, 1997). Among others, the most important ones which have a wide range of applications on the urban field are; Prigogine's Dissipative Structures, Haken's Synergetics, Lorenz's Chaos Theory and Mandelbrot's Fractal Geometry.

Camazine's (2009; 1) definition for self-organization is "a process whereby pattern at the global level of a system emerges solely from interactions among the lower-level components of the system". This definition reveals another prominent feature of a complex system; its ability to simulate the way local action generates global order. This in itself is often taken as the very definition of complexity (Forrester, 1969; Portugali, 1997; Batty and Torrens, 2001; Camazine, 2009). In particular, the focus is on systems that scale from the local to the global. Cities are structured in this fashion (Batty and Torrens, 2001) as studies on urban complexity reveals. Cities are the example par excellence of complex, self-organizing systems: emergent, far from equilibrium, requiring enormous energies to maintain themselves and so forth (Batty, 2008; 2). Recent urban research confirms this (Portugali, 1997; Batty, 1997, 2008; Batty and Longley, 1994; Batty and Torrens, 2001; Manson, 2001; Baynes 2009). Building theories of how cities function as complex systems is a growing field of research.

Feitosa (2010) asserts that for a better understanding of mechanisms of segregation—constraints, individual choices, and structural macro-forces—the fact that segregation

displays many hallmark features of complex systems should be comprehended. Many system characteristics explained in this section juxtapose with elements of urban segregation explained earlier:

- *Emergent*: The macro-structure of segregation emerges from the interaction between many individuals (households) at a micro-level, who are constantly making choices about their residential location.
- *Self-organising*: The element of choice is the self-organising element of urban segregation. Whatever the constraints or exogenous interventions, the system tends to find its stable state by adapting its internal structure to better interact with its environment.
- *Dynamic*: Segregation is not only the result of individual preferences. There are many dynamic mechanisms that can influence the households' decisions about moving into a specific location: land market, labor market, public policies and investments.
- *Non-linear interactions and feedback loops*: Segregation is shaped by non-linear interactions between heterogeneous households (i.e., knowledge, needs, income, race, etc.) and the mechanisms influencing these interactions, but is also able to influence them.
- *Path dependent*: Segregation is also characterized by path dependence, since earlier states and choices are able to affect future possibilities. The transition zones of Burgess or the port-of-entry characteristic of the colonies are in concordance with this aspect where the first comers affect the patterns of newcomers.

On the other hand, in the case of divided cities, division can be acknowledged as an external intervention on the city—the urban system. How the city responds to this external intervention is the subject of this thesis. Complex systems theory offers valuable insights to understand this phenomenon. The micro forces (ethnic group characteristics and preferences) and the macro forces (political conflicts, wars and ideological disagreements) which give reason to division should be regarded as complementary. Whatever the source behind division is, the result is an unpredicted disturbance on the urban system. In order to function normally, this system tends to reach its stable state through adapting its internal structure by means of self-organising attributes it shelters. We will observe the validity of this assumption in case studies of this thesis.

2.3.2 Systems view of urban planning

Chadwick (1971) and McLoughlin (1969) are pioneers which respectively try to construct a single framework within which human locational behaviour can be studied and understood. They have a very similar perspective. They define systems in terms of parts/components and connections/interactions. Parts of our systems are *human activities* – some place-related, some not. The connections between these activities are *human communications* – again, place-related or not. To see the system's connections in those communications which are more recurrent and strongly patterned spatially, our system takes a physical form. Activities occur within adapted *spaces* and physical communications take the form of *channels*.

According to McLoughlin (1969), the main problem for planners is the undue emphasis given to the physical side – spaces and channels. The key to understand and control the system is to give importance to human activities and communications. He asserts that planning must seek to guide and control systematic change which originates from optimisation actions of the society (human activities). In order to achieve this, within the framework of the Law of Requisite Variety, the planning process must have a similar shape to the human eco-system which it seeks to control. In order to achieve this, a planning model has to be designed flexibly.

According to Chadwick (1971) the role of planning is "optimising the performance of a system". His view on systems planning relies on Zipf's (1965) principle of least effort suggesting that; group optimisation is the sum of a large number of individual optimisations. Chadwick promotes the idea that since each individual or group of individuals are self-adapting and self-optimising (constantly restructuring its environment according to received information flows) the attempt to optimisation should be left to them. According to him, what planning should be concerned in such an interpretation is "widening the range of choices" by understanding the urban system as well as possibilities to manipulate it. This calls for a dynamic process, which responds to changing situations and requirements. This can only be achieved if we can develop and invent institutions which are "learning systems"— systems capable of bringing about their own continuing transformation.

Lozano (1990) warns us that in order to understand the systematic nature of urban complexes, a change in mental attitude is necessary. This change has to allow an

understanding of the problems of cities as structurally rather than descriptively. He suggests planning and design solutions in systems view as follows:

> In many instances, urban problems are a manifestation of partial disruptions in the system that demand a "repair" solution to bring the system back to its original state. In other instances, urban problems may be symptoms of increasing incoherence with the system – of and organisation that is no longer able to satisfy emergent goals because they are in increasing conflict with the system. In those cases, a "repair" solution would do no more than buy time, and the only way to bring about a viable new system would be to rearrange it structurally (Lozano, 1990, p. 120).

He differentiates the first approach to "repair" as self-regulation, and the latter one as self-organisation. According to him, the role of planning is to understand the behaviour of the urban system—if it requires self-regulation or self-organisation—in order to control uncertainty and guide the system toward stability. In doing this, planners have to allow uncertainty in the specifics, since laws guiding behaviour of the communities are not deterministic.

Steiss's (1974) contextualisation on planning change in states of crisis provides a fresh perspective on planning change in divided cities. Steiss demonstrates three states of contemporary societies: (1) states which sustain the society; (2) states which result in growth and adaptation; and (3) states of crisis. According to him, the society can end up trapped in the state of crisis and if the system is to survive, there is a need for some kind of regulatory mechanism to realign the system. To accomplish this objective he proposes four possibilities; to alter the inputs; to reorder the process within the system; to rearrange the structural components; or to introduce new states. According to him, "the most critical component of a system is its structure, and social reform—planned change—must be directed primarily toward the introduction of new states within the structure of the society" (Steiss, 1974, p. 286). As a conclusion, he asserts that in order to insert new states into the society, the five fundamental subsystems—social, political, economic, behavioural, and physical environment—have to be acknowledged to set functional imperatives for the society to achieve a stable and durable character.

2.4 Evaluation

In this section, firstly we have presented different viewpoints regarding the same concept: divided city. This enabled the differentiation of two types of cities studied in this thesis. *Multicultural cities* which shelter socio-economic divisions, layered with

ethnic differences; and, *divided cities* which are divided due to political oppressions and wars, and division is usually layered with socio-economic differences.

The history of urban division revealed that division exists since pre-historic times. However, with each historic period, types and contents of division differ substantially. This is why the contemporary city shelters a great variety of socio-spatial divisions; historical legacies of division are coupled with current-day divisions.

Even though segregation is generally accepted as a bad thing for the city and its administrators try to combat the situation, segregation is a reality of every city around the world. The advantages and disadvantages of segregation are not mutually exclusive. However, the less popular view that segregation is not all bad (Peach, 1996a, 1996b), is a reality which needs to be acknowledged in urban studies. Division on the other hand can be perceived as a more severe form of segregation; appearing at the end of the spectrum, separation. For the city, this means a great burden on the urban economy as explained here with reference to Kozlowski's (1968) Threshold Theory.

Locating multiculturalism, division and segregation has provided a comprehensive understanding on what each term denotes to within this research. The possibility to see each concept on a series of continuums will be helpful in distinguishing the case studies in the following parts.

Segregation has not been a topic for urban theorists until the works of Chicago School. This school has been inspirational since. It is possible to find traces of thought from the human ecology approach in the current study. Firstly, regarding Park's (1936) explanations on urban development patterns in times of catastrophic change can be associated with 'divided cities' discourse. If the city is perceived as an organism, division is an imposed catastrophic change ensued on this organism. How this organism obtains a new biotic balance is one of the main questions of this study. Secondly, Burgess' description of invasion-succession processes taking place in the city (and the accepted outcome of social and spatial assimilation) has explanatory power for immigrant receiving 'multicultural cities'.

It can be observed that planning in divided cities and planning in multicultural cities have fundamental similarities. Planning models proposed for these different types of cities can be used in both cases, regardless of whether it is divided or multicultural. However, it cannot be ignored that divided cities are extreme cases which may call for

extreme methods. This can be explained by Misselwitz and Rienits' (2009) classification. According to them, mediated conflicts are where conflicting interests are being absorbed and resolved or contained by established mechanisms of mediation, to the extent that they do not erupt into violence. In unmediated conflicts on the other hand, there is destructive confrontation, where accepted norms and mechanisms of mediation fail. Architecture and urban planning can become tools in the conflict themselves. The first one is to exemplify MCs, while the latter is more appropriate to explain DCs.

Systems view of the city is a constructive way to understand the importance of urban integration, or, in other words, the importance of understanding why division is not a preferable situation for the well-being of the city. Urban integration has been explained by the concept of 'wholeness' inherent in systems thinking (Bertalanffy, 1950). The element of self-organisation, a fundamental process of systems was constructive to understand processes of urban division. Hall's (1973) evaluations on systems engineering which verify that; if relations of pre-existing parts of a system are strengthened, or relations are developed among previously unrelated parts of a system, or new relations and parts are added to a system, the system can change towards wholeness. Urban integration is conceptualised in this form of action within this research.

In multicultural cities, the urban organism functions in such a way that segregation of communities' takes place, but the organism stays intact and carries on functioning as a whole. This could either follow the path of Chicago School's assimilationist model, or the multicultural model. Looking at cities with the system's view makes it easier to understand this complex situation; the urban system balances itself to reach its final state (equilibrium), in spite of interventions, with the help of its self-organising attributes.

In the case of divided cities, division can be acknowledged as an external intervention on the city—the urban system. How the city responds to this external intervention is the subject of this thesis. Systems theory offers valuable insights to understand this phenomenon. The micro forces (ethnic group characteristics and preferences) and the macro forces (political conflicts, wars and ideological disagreements) which give reason to division should be regarded as complementary. Whatever the source behind division is, the result is an unpredicted disturbance on the urban system. In order to

function normally, this system tends to reach its stable state through adapting its internal structure by means of self-organising attributes it shelters. We will observe the validity of this assumption in case studies of this thesis.

Systems view of planning, on the other hand is essential for understanding how planning change—in this case, planning for urban integration—is conceptualised. Different perspectives on how to treat cities in a systematic perspective shed light on how to approach planning in divided cities. More precisely, approaches on how to change the long-standing state of crisis these cities have been bound to, were depicted. The common proposal is for bottom-up approaches; where the role of planners should be to understand the system as broadly as possible and to provide a wide variety of choices for self-organisation to occur (Chadwick, 1971; McLoughlin, 1969).

A conclusion on how we will be evaluating cities as systems will be illuminative for a better understanding of the following chapters. Cities are open, social systems which can endure all types of change through adaptation in order to approach their steady states. In this perspective, residing with Hall's (1973) terminology, 'normal' cities can be seen as remaining in that independent state since progressive factorisation and systematisation occur at the same time. However, disrupted urban systems (in our case divided cities) can only go through progressive factorisation; as a result, they lose their steady state as well as their wholeness. Obviously, planning has an important role in determining how the city reaches its steady state. The role planning can gain in such circumstances have been explained throughout this chapter by referring to; planning models for divided cities proposed by Bollens (1998, 2002, 2007), Benvenisti (1986), and Öztoprak (2005); collaborative, communicative and therapeutic planning approaches proposed by Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011) and Sandercock (2000c); and systems perspectives of planning proposed by McLoughlin (1969), Chadwick (1971), Lozano (1990) and Steiss (1974). These conceptualisations on perceiving the city as a system and concurrent planning approaches should be in mind when evaluating the case studies of this thesis.

Furthermore, an important point of Alexander's (1977) work for this study is that it highlights the natural occurrence of subcultural boundaries within a city and promotes the idea to develop and maintain these boundaries (this viewpoint coincides with the 'emancipation thesis—ethnic enclave school' of segregation theorists and Peach's (1996a, 1996b) views on good segregation as well as Amin's (2002) views on how

mixed neighbourhoods should appear). In other words, while arguing that segregation is actually a positive phenomenon, it is also stated that these advantages should be supported by urban decision-makers and planners. This is why Alexander's view on 'mosaic of subcultures' has been the preferred term while studying the cases of this research. The following sections of this thesis will be evaluated in such a conceptual and theoretical framework.

3. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: MULTICULTURAL & DIVIDED CITIES

In accordance with the aim of this thesis, this chapter is dedicated to understand the effects of multiculturalism and division on the urban system and to evaluate the role of planning in such circumstances. In this framework, each city will be evaluated according to three criteria. The first one, settlement history of subculture groups will illuminate the evolution of the urban systems with regards to division. The second criteria will evaluate the role of planning and urban policies in this process. Lastly, physical appearance of subculture groups and division that take shape according to the inter-relationship of the first two criteria will be described for each city for the current period.

The case studies will provide insights on how an urban organism reacts to a change (division or mass immigration for example), and how it finds its new biotic balance; since "[urban] systems maintain their structure and coherence under all imaginable changes through adaptation" (Batty and Torrens, 2001) as we have defined in the previous chapter. Eventually, examining the role of planning in such circumstances will generate a basis for proposing a planning approach in divided cities and Nicosia.

3.1 Reasoning Behind the Choice of Case Studies

Four case studies are chosen for each type of city. Multicultural case studies are New York City (NYC), London, Paris, and Singapore. As mentioned before (see, '2.1.1.3 Causes of urban division'), globalisation and its concurrent process of mass immigration is the main reason why these cities become multicultural. This is why several credible indexes have been browsed to choose the case studies in order to provide a compatible comparative research.

Globalisation and World Cities Research Network (GaWC) study was the first attempt to define and categorise global cities in 1998 with names like Manuel Castells, Saskia Sassen, Sir Peter Hall, John Friedmann, Nigel Thrift, and Peter Taylor (Url-4). They categorised cities into Alpha, Beta, and Gama world cities with sub-categories in descending order of importance. Looking at the 2012 rankings of the GaWC study;

NYC and London are categorised as Alpha++ "which are vastly more integrated with the global economy than any other cities"; and Paris and Singapore are Alpha+ cities which "complement New York City and London by filling advanced service niches for the global economy" (Url-4).

Global Cities Index, on the other hand, was first produced in 2008 and then updated in 2010 and 2012 by A.T. Kearney. This index is another reputable work for categorising global cities around the world (ATKearney, 2012). In their 2012 rankings, the first three global cities are NYC, London, and Paris, whereas Singapore appears as eleventh on the list.

According to Fainstein and Harloe (1992), "London and New York resemble each other both in the political and economic forces affecting them and in the position they occupy within the international economic system" (p. 4). Given the above ratings, Paris also occupies a similar niche in this respect. In this context, the reason for choosing Singapore is that in addition to its characterisation as a global / world city, it has a multiculturalism policy in place since the establishment of the country. These reasons, coupled with the fact that it is a city-state, renders Singapore a unique and fruitful case study for this research.

Divided city case studies are Belfast, Jerusalem, Berlin and Beirut. These four cities are among the most prominent examples of divided cities proposed by scholars working in this field (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011; Calame and Charlesworth, 2009; Bollens, 1998, 2007; Boal, 1994; Hepburn, 2004; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999; Kotek, 1999). These cities are the focal points of nationalistic inter-group conflicts that their country is faced with. This means that they are not only platforms, but also primary causes of conflicts (Bollens, 2007).

Belfast and Jerusalem have been chosen since they are still divided. They will be fruitful case studies to exemplify why division lingered until now; how it has transformed the urban ground; and what role planning has played in this respect. The examples of reunited cities, Berlin and Beirut, will reveal if and how the balance of an urban whole can be restored. The latters will provide a framework and a basis for what planning can accomplish to achieve urban integration.

3.2 Multicultural Cities

3.2.1 New York City

Settlement history of subculture groups

The United States of America (USA) has been a classical country of immigration. NYC has historically been the port-of-entry for immigrants since its foundation in 1624, when it was first colonized by the Dutch (New Amsterdam). Later, from 1664 to 1783, New York was under the English.

Until 1880s, migration to USA was unregulated. According to Castels and Miller (1993), during this period (1800s to 1860s), 66% of the immigrants to the USA came from Britain and 22% from Germany. But starting from the mid-nineteenth century which is the peak of the industrial revolution, main migration was from less industrialised countries of Ireland, Italy, Spain and Eastern Europe (mainly Jews and Russians).

The newcomers crowded in the lower east side of Manhattan at very high densities, while the former immigrants—Irish and Germans—were in better quarters (in tenement districts) on the east of Manhattan (Buck and Fainstein, 1992). The tendency of the newcomers to settle in this area was a result of the labour needs of the industrial economy. Castles and Miller (1993) assert that the American working class developed along patterns of ethnic segregation due to labour recruitment by industrial companies, followed by chain migration.

During the inter-war period, immigration was cut off by a series of laws enacted in 1920s. The 1924 National Origins legislation introduced a quota system favouring only European migrants and was in effect until the 1960s. These policies, along with the Great Depression and the onset of WWII, drastically reduced the number of immigrants to the United States (Keogan, 2010).

However, the need for labour in NYC was substituted by the black workers moving to the cities of the North and West to flee discriminative and segregationist attitudes of Southern cities (The Great Migration). By 1930s, 95% of the non-white population were Blacks (Keogan, 2010) and what they encountered in the city was merely another form of segregation—generally acknowledged as ghettoization.

Due to restrictions on international migration until the 1960s, population changes occurred from within. The first movement is Great Migration, mentioned above. The second has been labelled as White Flight, where more affluent white households leave the city to go and live better off in the suburbs (Queens and Staten Island), and the inner city is left to the economically and socially disadvantaged portions of the society. These suburbanisation movements changed the demographic composition of lower classes and introduced a racial urban pattern into the city.

In 1965, as part of civil rights legislation of the period, amendments were made to the Immigration and Nationality Act to remove the discriminatory national-origins quota system. The result was a growing number of migrants from Asia and Latin America (Castles and Miller, 1993).

During 1970s, New Yorkers' departure to the suburbs accelerated, this time including Puerto Ricans and blacks, causing a population decline of the inner city (Cross and Waldinger, 1992). However, due to liberalisation in immigration laws since 1960s New York once more became home for new immigrants. But this inflow was not enough to counter the outflow. It was not until the 1980s that population decline turned around with globalisation. The newcomers were extremely diverse.

Even though assimilation process is the building stone of the American nation, it has different repercussions due to different forms of assimilation. For instance, according to Manhattan Institute Policy Research Report on 'Measuring Immigrant Assimilation in the United States' (Vidgor, 2009);

> Canadian immigrants are fully assimilated along cultural and economic dimensions, but their civic assimilation is not pronounced. Immigrants from Vietnam have very high levels of civic and economic assimilation but retain cultural distinctiveness. Immigrants from Mexico show low levels of economic and civic assimilation, quite possibly because a substantial proportion lack the legal right to live and work in the United States, but show cultural-assimilation levels similar to those of other groups (Vidgor, 2009, p. 3).

According to Peach (2005), American attitude towards immigrants has gone through several phases: starting from an Anglo-conformist view that society should be white, English speaking and Protestant; to an Assimilationist melting pot where different identities merge into a single one; to a triple melting pot defined by Protestant, Catholic and Jewish identities and finally to a more pluralistic view, recognizing different ethnic identities.

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding subculture groups

Segregation in NYC has its roots in historical practices of discrimination in federal, state and local policies. Here we will specifically be concerned with issues of planning and housing. Even though it is a country of immigration, racial differences—among blacks and whites—rather than ethnic differences have always been prominent in the development of discriminatory policies.

In the 1930s, with the mass movement of southern blacks into NYC, the newcomers were forced to live in the impoverished parts of the city due to economic constraints. But governmental policies were also effective in this formation. Federal Housing Administration (FHA) which was formed in 1934 directed housing loans away from the inner-city and to the rapidly developing suburbs dominated by the White population (Mitchell and Smith, 1979). White Flight was further accelerated by the improvement of transportation facilities; enabling the middle-class to move out to new and better houses of the outside boroughs (Bernt, 2012). At the same time, FHA supported realtors who practiced racially discriminatory practices against blacks by establishing guidelines. These practices are coined as Redlining; the name stems from the fact that red lines were drawn on maps to delineate areas where banks were not to give loans or insurances (Mitchell and Smith, 1979). A further result of redlining was the increasing home prices of the inner-city areas, rendering minorities to become unable to attain houses. Even though redlining was deemed illegal in 1968 Fair Housing Act, it had long-lasting effects on the development of black and minority neighbourhoods.

With the advancement of Fair Housing Act, policies aimed at integration were introduced to the federal agenda through 'Integration Maintenance Program - IMP'. The aim of this program was to keep communities racially balanced (Laplace, 1989). To do so, it introduced a quota system mainly through three approaches (Smolla, 1978; Yinger, 1997): 1 | placing explicit limits to the sale or rental of housing; 2 | to encourage or discourage—rather than prohibit—the entry of certain groups into a community; and 3 | race-conscious dispersal of entrants by encouraging mixed living. Some authors find the program successful (Yinger, 1997), while others (Laplace, 1989; Smolla, 1978) pronounce its negative aspects. All in all, as McKenzie and Ruby (2002) advocate; "It seems that public policy can intervene in market relationships and influence the decisions of apartment owners and renters and produce a higher level of

integration than would otherwise exist" (p.32). Integrationist essence of the program is no longer active; it has now transformed into "neighbourhood stabilization program", which is used for stabilizing communities that have suffered from foreclosures and abandonment.

Apart from federal policies, local level policies have helped to accelerate segregation in NYC. For instance, starting from 1940s to the end of 1960s, New York municipality ordered the construction of affordable housing for the poor in neighbourhoods where ethnic minorities were concentrated (Bernt, 2012; Mitchell and Smith, 1979). These constructions resulted in 'slum clearance', concentrated in areas like Harlem. Even though intentions were good, the consequence has been an increase in residential segregation due to the labelling of certain areas of the city as poor and problematic.

In 1986, New York's "Ten-Year Housing Program" was launched by Mayor Koch, as the largest municipal housing investment of its kind in the US ever (Ryzin and Genn, 1999). This program has been extended up to this day. With the economic boom of the 1980s, the program started with big promises. The main aim was to address the shortage of affordable housing and a second focus was neighbourhood revitalisation (Schill et al., 2002). The funds were to be derived from several mechanisms including rent revenues obtained from Battery Park City (Furman Center, 2005). With a great variety of programs, 60% of the housing to be constructed was targeted to low-income households (Bernt, 2012).

One of the important aspects of the program was that it allowed not only housing, but also social and commercial transformations. An example is the commercial revitalisation along the 125th Street which helped to restore Harlem as a property market to invest in. This is a pre-condition for upgraded market projects of the future (Bernt, 2012). The next step in such an environment would be gentrification, which in itself (without blending the issue of immigrants and minorities into the subject) is a much-debated issue.

PlaNYC which sets the goals and planning approaches until 2030, does not have a part specifically dealing with integration/segregation or cohesion. In Housing and Neighbourhood chapter of the plan it is stated that "Each neighbourhood has its own distinctive character, history, and culture; maintaining this diversity plays a vital role

in the continuing health of the city" (City of New York, 2011). This is the only part where diversity is emphasised.

To summarise, there is no direct urban policy or planning approach in NYC which addresses subcultural groups and segregation. Castles and Miller (1993) assert that incorporation of immigrants into economy and society has been largely left to market forces, referring to private market domination in housing. Further, physical upgrading and renovation are the main aims of the urban policies in New York, without sheltering any policies on integration and neighbourhood revitalisation (Mitchell and Smith, 1979).

Physical patterns of subculture groups

NYC is one of the most ethnically variegated cities around the world due to its long immigration history. According to the last census held in 2010, approximately 8 million people live within the city, making it the most populous city in the US (NYC Planning, 2011). Of this population, 67% are from an ethnic group other than White-nonhispanic (Table 3.1). The following evaluations are carried out according to the most recent census results (2010) of the US Census Bureau (Url-5).

Table 3.1 : Total population by race and ethnic group, NYC, 2010.

Race-Ethnicity	**2010 Census Results**	
	Number	**Percent**
Total Population	8,175,133	100
White-nonhispanic	2,722,904	33.3
Black	1,861,295	22.7
Asian	1,028,119	12.5
Hispanic	2,336,076	28.5
Other	226,739	3

Source: US Census Bureau, (Url-5).

The white-nonhispanics (hereafter referred to as whites) reside in Brooklyn more than any other borough by 32% (35% of Brooklyn), followed by 27% of whites residing in Manhattan (48% of Manhattan). The census results show that white population gain of Manhattan in the last ten years has been mainly in Harlem (50% white population gain from 2000 to 2010). At the same time, 15% of the black population has declined from the same area. This situation reflects the results of previously mentioned slum clearance and gentrification processes in the area. Another significant observation regarding the results of White Flight can be made by looking at the white proportions of the suburbia. 64% of Staten Island's population is composed of whites.

Figure 3.1 shows the distribution of Hispanic and racial groups in NYC. The map was drawn by using 2010 Census data on the block level. The ethnic origin boundaries show areas where more than 50% of the area is represented by that group. As can be observed, subculture communities do not coincide with administrational boundaries, and only by evaluating the lowest level possible, can one gain the real distribution.

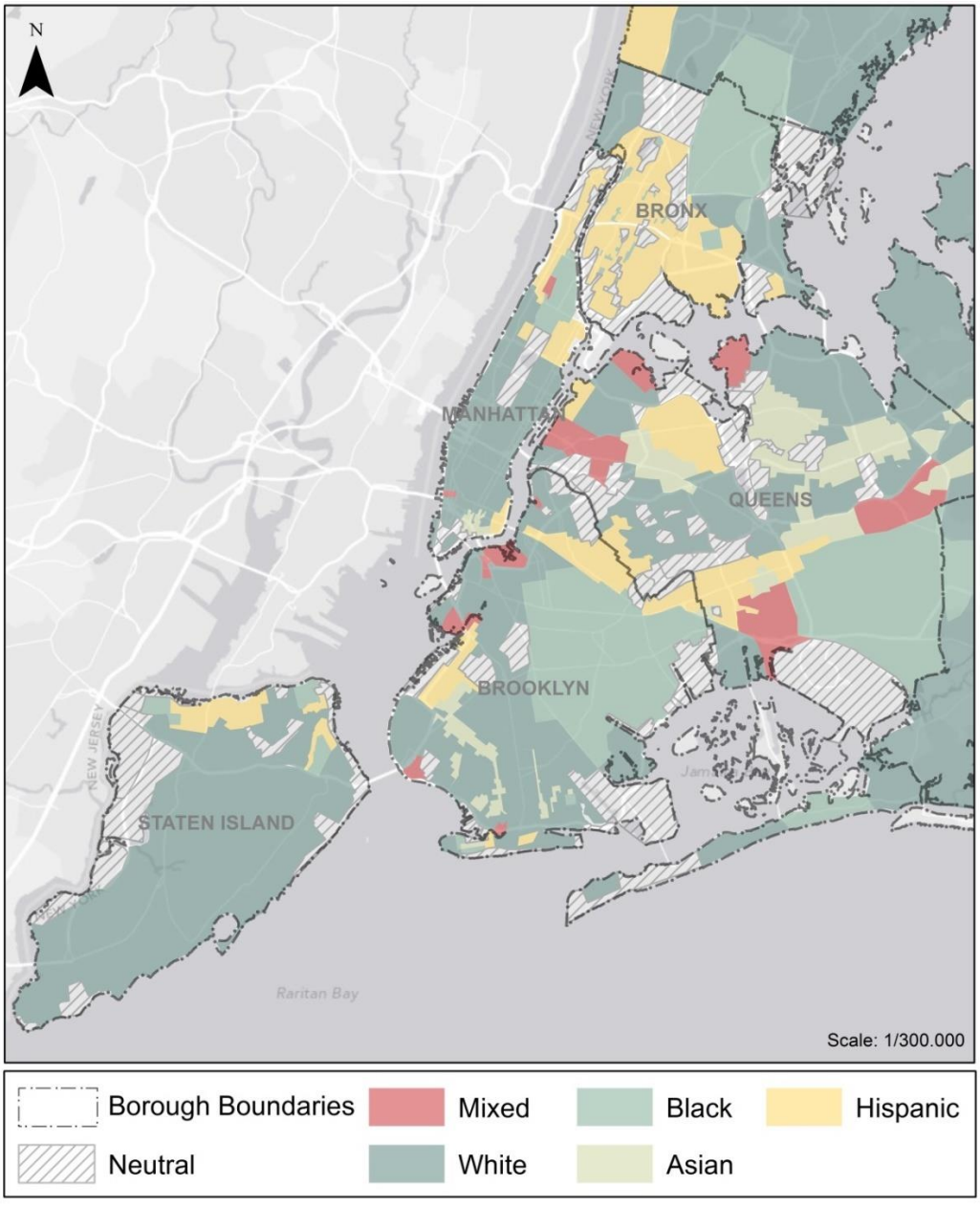

Figure 3.1 : Distribution of main ethnic groups, NYC, 2010 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

The neutral areas shown are mainly major public spaces (like Central Park) and urban facility areas (like airports and ports). They are not pronounced by any group's

majority and offer spaces where different cultural groups can come into contact with one another.

Figure 3.1 illustrates that the black population is most congregated in Brooklyn. Whites (35%) and Blacks (31%) together comprise over two-thirds of Brooklyn's population, while Hispanics account for 19%. However, Queens is the most diverse borough of the city. It is also home to half of the Asian population. Bronx on the other hand, is home to one-thirds of the Hispanic population, and the least portion of white population.

It can be observed that the Hispanics compose the biggest portion in Bronx (53%); Brooklyn is pronounced by whites (35%) and blacks (31%); Manhattan has a white majority population distribution (48%) as well as Staten Island (64%); while Queens shelters substantial representations of each group. Mixed neighbourhoods are most visible in Queens.

3.2.2 London

Settlement history of subculture groups

Even though for some, London is "humanity's first world city" (Emsley et al., n.d.), migration to London did not accelerate until 1950s with the New Commonwealth immigration. However being the earliest industrial country, Britain was first among other European countries to experience large scale labour migration (Castles and Miller, 1993) and as an industrial city; London was the main attraction point of these immigrants.

Before 1950s, labour migration was obtained from the closest colony, Ireland. The next wave of immigrants was Jews (Castles and Miller, 1993). In the context of London, Jewish migration is seen as successful since they followed a trajectory of assimilation within the accepting society (Peach, 1999).

The main cause of migration to the United Kingdom (UK) was decolonisation. Migration from Commonwealth countries took start after WWII, specifically from the Caribbean and West African countries. This was followed by a wave of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent (Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis). Immigrant flow from the Asian continent is still continuing.

Assimilation was the main expectation when the new commonwealth immigrants entered the city (Bourne, 2007). Regardless of what was anticipated, commonwealth lived according to their own cultural aspirations. Peach (1999) explains how geographical distributions of these groups differ considerably according to their historical immigration patterns. The Caribbeans who arrived first to the city, concentrated mainly on three central areas with close proximity to railway nodes within the inner city neighbourhoods. This was due to recruitment policies of London Transport (Castels and Miller, 1993). Indians were a more suburban community because they were relatively high-educated, white-collar workers. Bangladeshis' socio-economic positions are different from Indians', because of pre-immigration statuses. Bangladeshis were mainly concentrated in a single ward, Tower Hamlets, where 80% of the housing stock is council property. However, it is worth mentioning that segregation in London never took the form of ghettoes as in NYC, and relatively remained less apparent than the latter (Peach, 1999; Fainstein et al., 1992).

Unlike white flight in NYC, where population decrease of the inner city was shaped by individual decisions, London's 'counter-urbanization' during the 1950s and 1960s was due to a government policy for decentralisation (Peach, 1999). This is why, in NYC, immigrants are seen as displacing white Americans, while in London, reversely, immigration was promoted in order to replace the population loss.

In 1962, the first immigration control acts were enacted by the Conservative government. In 1966, British formula of 'integration' was set out by the Jenkins Report which moved away from policies seeking for assimilation to a more pluralistic view (Grillo, 2000b). From the 1970s on, attempts were made to limit immigration, other than from countries of the European Union (Johnston et al., 2007). Therefore immigration patterns were largely stable until the 1990s, generally made up of family reunification. Since 2004, there is an unprecedented increase in immigration due to the new members of the European Union (EU), particularly from Poland.

In the aftermath of 2001 riots in northern cities of England, 2005 suicide bombings in London, and 2005 riots in Birmingham, the country's multiculturalism policy is under scrutiny. David Cameron, the prime minister of the UK, gave his first speech as a prime minister, emphasising "why state multiculturalism has failed", mainly targeting Islamist extremism (Url-6).

The multicultural attribute of Britain (and specifically London) is a widely accepted phenomenon. Globalisation and decolonisation have helped to the formation of multicultural London, since migration is the constitutive element of both processes. It is generally viewed as illegitimate to force a dominant culture onto minority groups. Therefore, segregation in London shelters a much more voluntary essence than in NYC.

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding subculture groups

In Britain, central government is much stronger than local authorities, specifically concerning social policy issues. Planning system is also strongly centralised (Thomas, 1994). Centralist approach eventually led to political pressure and in 1889 the first local authority of London, London County Council (today known as Greater London Authority (GLA)) was formed. The first Mayor of London was elected in 2000. In 2010, Localism Act was introduced to decentralise power to the local authorities. However, the Act did not change deep-rooted centralisation in the UK. London is dependent on the central government for 95% of its spending, while NYC controls 67% of its funds and Paris 83% (Url-7).

Thomas (1994) asserts that during 1980s and 1990s, the discourse of race has not been consistent between central government policy areas. Policy areas like planning and environment had no such considerations. However, this lack does not mean that central government policies are not sensitive to ethnic minorities' needs and aspirations on the local level planning system (Thomas, 1994, 1997).

The fact that "the social cost of immigration is on the local level" (Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010) was acknowledged by the national government right after the tensions of 2001. The government responded at the national level by setting out a new 'cohesion' policy. Consequently, steps were taken to strengthen local authorities when addressing issues of diversity and the tensions they may cause. The Commission on Integration and Cohesion was constituted in 2006 to address these concerns and in 2007, produced a report named *Our Shared Future* which builds social solutions to make communities more resilient and united (CIC, 2007).

This report has significant contributions to urban policy making on the issues of immigration and diversity. First of all, a new role was identified for local authorities: Local authorities should map their local populations, their schools and religious

groups' worship areas in order to strengthen local leadership and better understand their local communities to better meet their needs. Secondly, the Commission recommended the creation of a new national integration body for supporting (providing advice and guidance to) local authorities experiencing recent migration. Thirdly, specialist integration and cohesion teams—as part of the national integration body—composed of integration experts with experience on conflict resolution and public mediation should be structured to advise local authority leaders on particular local issues and challenges. Fourthly, local contracts will be signed between the new integration body and local authorities for new arrivals. This would set out the responsibilities of local areas in terms of what is and what is not acceptable behaviour.

Another report, *Crossing Borders*, prepared by the Audit Commission in 2007, identified the local costs of immigration. The report concluded that additional funds should be allocated to local service providers who are receiving new immigration (Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010).

These reports show that local boroughs and councils have been given the necessary support in organising their community services. They have been obliged by the national government to support multiculturalism within their localities, with an emphasis on cohesion.

There are also urban strategies within the national agenda. In 2001, *The New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal: A National Strategy Action Plan*, was launched. It is mainly concerned with deprived urban areas and "how to deliver economic prosperity, safe communities, high quality schools, decent housing and better health to the poorest parts of the country" (MoR 2003, p. 27). The Neighbourhood Renewal Unit developed a framework to integrate race equality into all aspects of renewal projects. A number of policies and funds have been introduced to maintain and monitor this geographically targeted approach.

Social housing plays a much important role in Britain than the US and accounts for a quarter of the housing market (Peach, 1999). Council housing (as it is called in the UK) is also however, much more ethnically mixed than that of New York City. Ethnic minorities are being encouraged to have more say in housing preferences.

If the 2004 London Plan (GLA, 2004), prepared under Ken Livingston's mayorship, is compared with the last (2011) London Plan of Mayor Boris Johnson, on issues like

diversity, immigration and minorities, some fundamental differences can be observed. First of all, in the 2004 plan, the terminology used is different from that of the 2011 plan. Terms like exclusion, inclusion, integration, ethnic minorities, cultural/ethnic differences and discrimination are encountered much more frequently within the 2004 plan. This rhetorical difference arises from the main objectives and strategies asserted within the plans. Whereas in the 2004 plan, one of the six primary objectives set forth, "Objective 4: To promote social inclusion and tackle deprivation and discrimination" (GLA, 2004) directly refers to immigrants and diversity, in the 2011 plan, no such direct reference is made. The prominence given to tackle exclusion is further emphasised in the 2004 plan by insisting that "social and economic exclusion is a unifying theme running through all the strategies" (GLA, 2004). This devotion is not visible in the 2011 plan. In the 2004 plan, diversity is seen as the most important strength of London and so it must be supported and built on. Additionally, the distinct spatial needs of minority ethnic groups and discrimination in labour markets are recognised and challenged.

The shift in discourse can be attributed to a change in national level multicultural policies. Following the events of 9/11 and London bombings in 2005, multicultural policies in the UK were blamed, and eventually they "degenerated into a competitive culturalism or ethnicism" (Bourne, 2007, p. 3). Bourne further asserts that, once, Britain was an example for organic, from below multicultural development, setting example for other European countries, but now, it is "following its European partners into the most conservative and reactionary of policies". He maintains this idea by exemplifying the formation of Commission on Integration and Cohesion – which according to him, is a legacy of other European countries.

Even though not as much as the 2004 plan, the 2011 plan still incorporates important strategies for minority inclusion. These are not put forward as clearly as the previous plan, but policies like "ensuring equal life chances for all"; "mixed and balanced communities", "building London's neighbourhoods and communities", include references to promote and ensure that different communities' needs and expectations are addressed. There is also evidence in the 2011 London Plan that mixed and sustainable communities are being supported via mixed ownership. Porter's Way residential estate in Hillingdon has applied this type of mixed ownership opportunities in order to attract a variety of residents and provide a balanced community.

Physical patterns of subculture groups

London is one of the prominent cosmopolitan cities in the world like New York City. It has a total population of approximately 8 million of which 55% is not British (Table 3.2). This figure shows that London's ethnic population is not as big as NYC's, where the same figure reaches up to 67% in the latter (see the previous subsection). The following evaluations are carried out according to the most recent census results (2011) of the Office for National Statistics and Greater London Authority-GLA (Url-8).

White-British (hereafter referred to as whites) are congregated in outer London (66%), specifically in eastern suburbs (Figure 3.2). Strikingly different from NYC's distribution, whites have a significant majority all around the city except for Brent and Newham (15-20%) where both Asian and Black groups have a noteworthy presence.

Table 3.2 : Total population by ethnic group, London, 2011.

Ethnicity	**2011 Census Results**					
	Greater London		**Inner London**		**Outer London**	
	Number	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
Total Population	8,173,941	100	3,231,901	100	4,942,040	100
White-British	3,669,284	44.9	1,240,266	38.4	2,429,018	49.2
White-Other	1,218,151	14.9	612,943	19.0	605,208	12.2
Black-African	573,931	7.0	276,513	8.6	297,418	6.0
Black-Caribbean	344,597	4.2	173,959	5.4	170,638	3.5
Asian-Indian	542,857	6.6	109,933	3.4	432,924	8.8
Asian-Pakistani	223,797	2.7	59,890	1.9	163,907	3.3
Asian-Bangladeshi	222,127	2.7	163,838	5.1	58,289	1.2
Other	1,379,197	16.9	594,559	18.4	784,638	15.9

Source: Office for National Statistics and GLA, (Url-8).

The biggest ethnic group other than British is white-other which comprises Irish, European citizens, Americans, Australians, Turks and the like. The bulk of this group is concentrated in the northern parts of the city (from 20 to 30% of northern boroughs are from white-other group, see Figure 3.2). Figure 3.3 can provide a more detailed visualisation of this group (and all other groups). This map illustrates that the ethnic communities concentrated in the north are generally composed of Turks, Greeks and Cypriots who belong to the white-other group.

Among the investigated ethnic groups, only the Indian population is vastly suburbanised (80% of Asian-Indians live in western suburbs) by up to 25% of Harrow composed of Asian-Indians. It has been previously explained that this is mainly due to better pre-immigration statuses of this group.

The Bangladeshis on the other hand, are the most segregated ethnic group. Different from Indians, they tend to congregate in inner city boroughs, predominantly in Tower Hamlets (32% of Tower Hamlets is composed of Bangladeshis, which is the biggest proportion of an ethnic group in a certain borough). It has been explained that 80% of housing stock in Tower Hamlets is council housing, which points out to the fact that housing policies were also effective in the formation of this ethnic enclave. Black-African and Caribbean groups also tend to concentrate in inner London boroughs. As explained earlier, these boroughs were where the London Transport had offered jobs when these immigrants first came to the city.

Apparent from Table 3.2 and Figure 3.2, segregation levels of ethnic groups in London fall well behind that of NYC. In London, the biggest presence of a single ethnic group in a single borough is at most 32%, whereas in NYC, this figure goes up to 85%. While NYC provided the visualisation of ethnic groups from block-level, enduring such a task in London would not be fruitful since blocks do not shelter such a majority of ethnic groups. This is why Figure 3.3 has been drawn to illustrate a more detailed ethnic community map. The legend represents the cosmopolitan nature of the city. This map also presents major public spaces within the city. The fact that these spaces are plentiful and well-intertwined with ethnic group clusters means that opportunities are created for different groups to come into contact with one another.

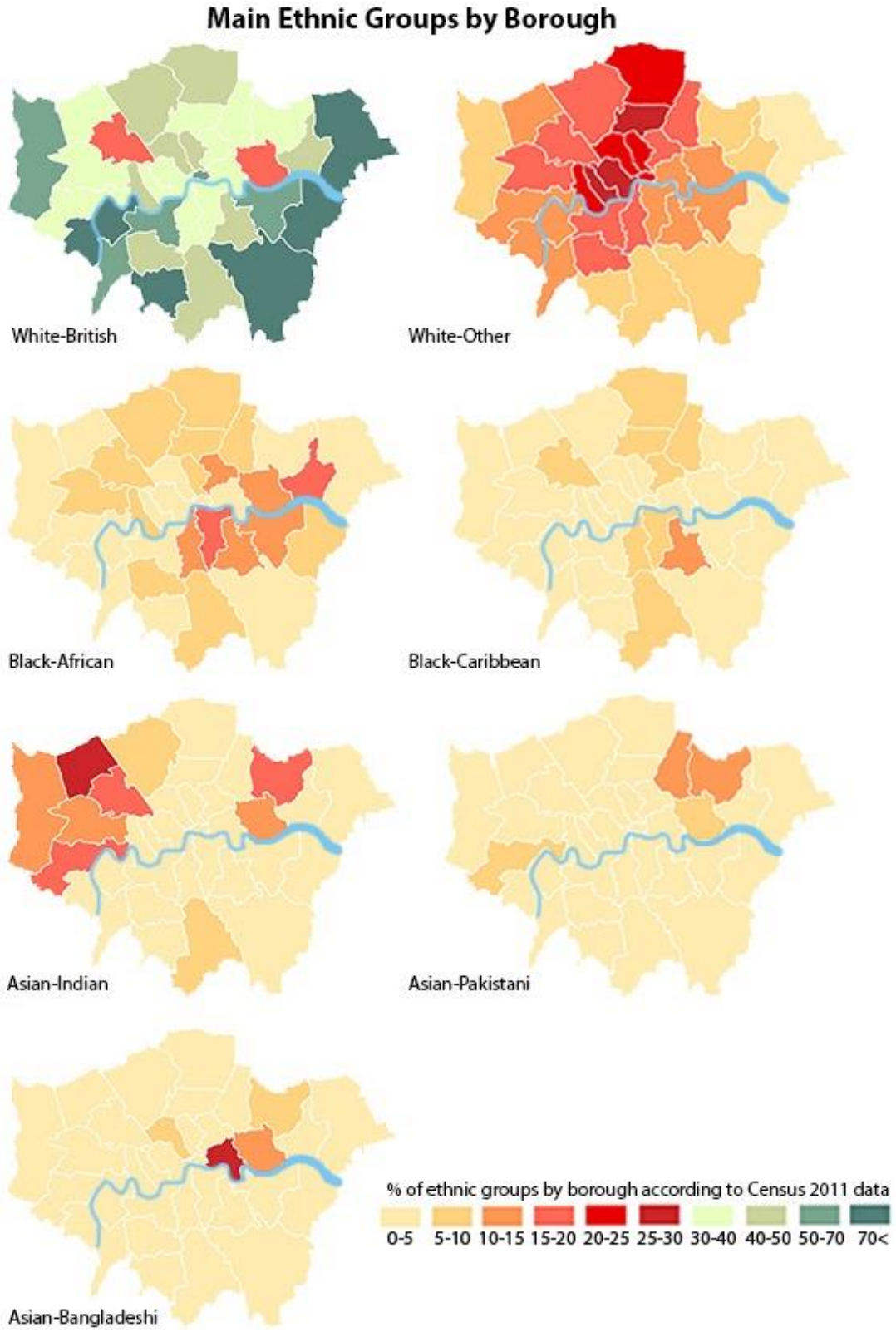

Figure 3.2 : Distribution of main ethnic groups by borough, London, 2011 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

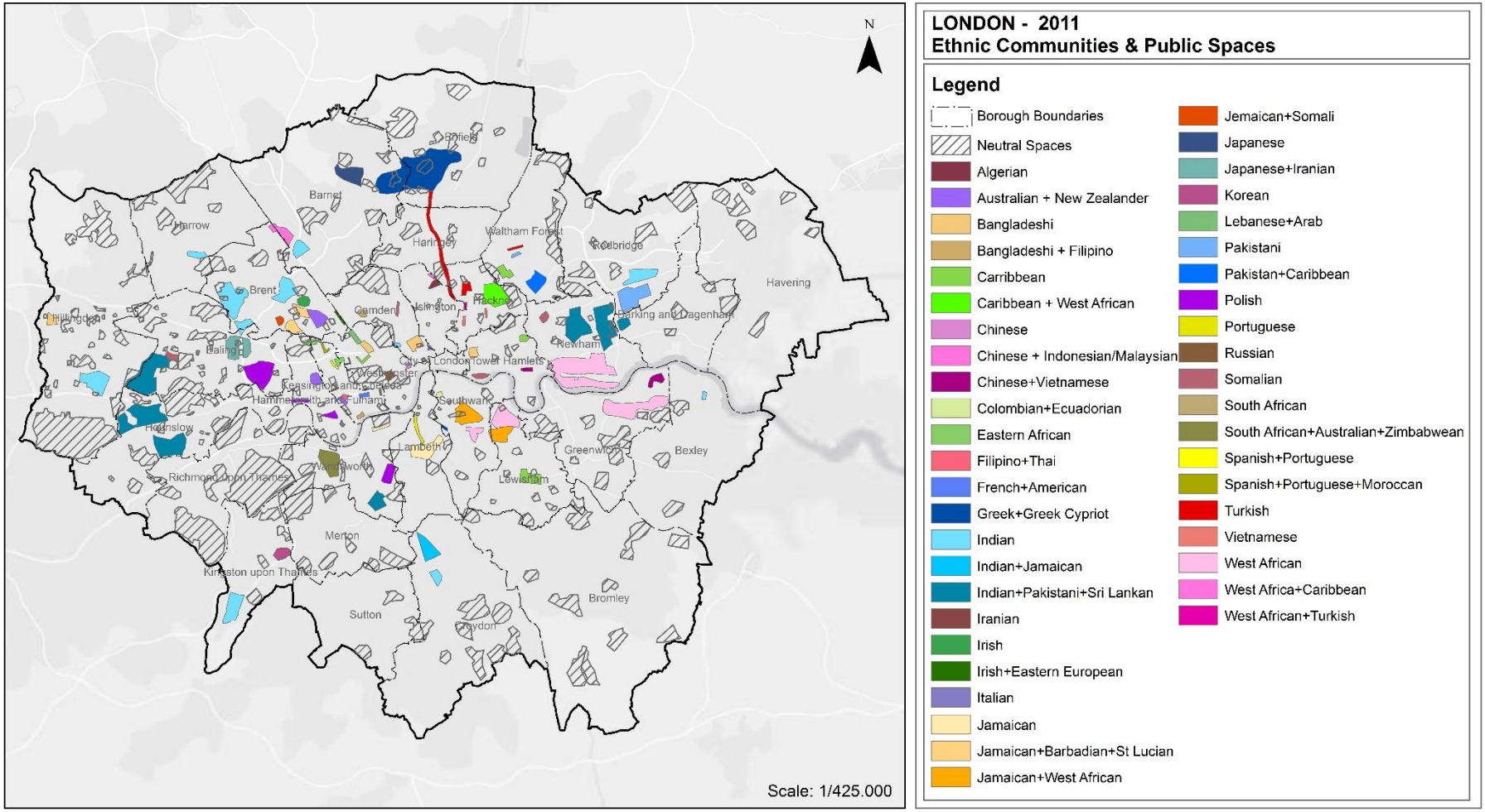

Figure 3.3 : Ethnic communities and public spaces, London, 2011 (redrawn from Url-9 by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

3.2.3 Paris

Settlement history of subculture groups

Modern immigration to France can be dated back to 19th century when France recruited workers from the surrounding European countries to close up the labour shortage. During this period, migrants were mainly from Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Poland (Castles and Miller, 1993). However, similar to London, mass immigration to France began after the second half of the 20th century, with the beginning of decolonisation. During French post-war economic boom, immigrants were mainly coming from French colonies (from the Maghreb and West Africa). As a result of the Algerian War (1954-1962) and the subsequent independence of Algeria, a large number of French settlers and pro-French Algerians moved to France. The first group of immigrants (European) is considered to have successfully integrated into the 'French Culture', whereas the second group is seen to be 'un-assimilable' in nature (Laachir, 2007).

Paris was the main attraction for the newcomers. Unlike other European or American cities, throughout its history, Paris was far from commercial trade routes; therefore it grew as an administrative seat, in a concentric pattern (Sutcliffe, 1974). Consequently, it had a central city region (*commune de Paris*) which was inhabited by wealthier groups (known as the gentry) and a suburban region (inner belt, *petite courenne*) consisting of poorer rural groups. The stark divide existing between these two groups has not only been a result of historical urban development patterns, but also because of urban planning approaches. For example, in 1860s, with Haussman's Renovation Plan for Paris, the poor communities became displaced into the outskirts, to places of *ban* (Jawaid, 2010). Further, *grands boulevards* became symbols of spatial zoning, separating the well-off areas from the disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Angélil and Siress, 2012). *Bd. Périphérique* resembles such a separation barrier in modern-day Paris.

After the First World War, with the construction of large social estates known as *cités nouvelles* or *grands ensembles* and grand industrial and business sites like *La Défense*, suburban expansion accelerated. The suburbia thrived until the 1960s. Then, particularly the northern and eastern suburbs experienced deindustrialisation, and the *cités* started to become homes for the immigrants. Particularly for the colonial

immigrants who entered the city and moved into abandoned houses and formed shanty towns (Simon, 2002). It was not until the 1960s that the construction of government subsidised mass housing projects (*Habitations à Loyer Lodéré*-HLMs) started. These *grands ensembles* provided these groups with low-income housing opportunities (Faramarazi, 2005). In 1960s and 1970s, the government produced 195 housing estates, most of them in Paris (Gonick, 2011), mainly located in the suburbs—*banlieues*. The concept of the *seuil de tolérance* (threshold of tolerance) was introduced, according to which the immigrant presence should be limited to a maximum of 10 or 15% of residents in a housing estate (Castles and Miller, 1993). The implication was that immigrant concentrations presented a problem, and that dispersal was the precondition for assimilation. That is why, these housing estates, the HLMs, were remote to the city centre. They were poorly equipped with social amenities and were conceived as ghettos (Angélil and Siress, 2012). Today, they are seen as zones of economic, social and political exclusion and according to Laachir (2007) they constitute a "neo-colonial attitude", where France is replaying a colonial framework, only this time inside its own national borders. Since their construction, HLMs have been subject to periodic unrest (the most recent and major one being the 2005 riots) due to their exclusion, degradation and low quality-of-life standards.

In early 1990s, Charles Pasqua, Minister of Interior, pursued a zero immigration policy (Engler, 2007), known as the Pasqua laws. The introduction of these regulations caused dispute and tensions in 1996. The rightist government also created a national urban policy that designated impoverished areas as special economic zones (Gonick, 2011). Since a conservative party took power in 2002, a restrictive immigration policy has been in place.

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding subculture groups

What makes France rather unique among its European counterparts is that; embracing foreigners as immigrants, settlers and citizens is claimed to be a part of French Republican tradition inherited from the Revolution in 1789 where the 'Declaration of Human and Civic Life' and 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' was accepted (Laachir, 2007; Musterd, 2003). This is evident in integration policies of the state. Whereas in the UK, integration is seen as engagement with other groups while preserving some distinctive cultural traits, in France, integration is equated with cultural assimilation (Simon, 2002; Bolt et al., 2010). Consequently, French narratives of urban policy are

inevitably linked with questions of immigration, integration and social control (Gonick, 2011).

Due to increasing discontent about the *banlieues*, the first urban policy was conceived in the 1980s; *développement social des quartiers* (social development of neighbourhoods – DSQs). Priority neighbourhoods were determined on an economic basis, where the working class lived (Dikec, 2006). An ambitious project was established—*Banlieues 89*—to modernise the housing conditions of the suburbs. Its focus was the fringe of urban areas, and its aim was to address the problems of social exclusion and marginalisation (Roberts, 2000). Six development plans were produced to increase social cohesion and equity within the Paris region. Even though this project officially ended in 1991, it inspired other projects of urban revitalisation (Angélil and Siress, 2012).

In the 1990s, after influential riots, the problem of the *banlieues* started to be perceived as more of a cultural and ethnic problem—rather than an economic one (Dikec, 2006). In 1996, the French government designated infra-urban territories as priority targets for urban policy (Url-10). These zones were named *zones urbaines sensibles* (sensitive urban zones – ZUS). This urban policy, like its predecessors, separated specific localities from the broader metropolitan landscape (Gonick, 2011).

It can be observed that, the geography of urban policy regarding issues of immigrants (priority neighbourhoods) has been renowned in many different terms. According to Angélil and Siress (2012) these classifications "shape the public perception of the problem as one isolated to a troubled periphery, helping the state to rally support for targeted crackdowns" (p. 63).

The SRU law enacted in 2000 (*loi de solidarité et renouvellement urbain*, solidarity and urban renewal act), to relieve residential segregation that had developed as a consequence of the earlier, uneven construction of the *cités*. The law required that communes devote at least 20% of their housing capacity to social housing (Musterd, 2005). Many locally-elected officials opposed the law, and hindered its implementation. For example, less than 2.5% of the housing stock in the wealthy Parisian suburb of *Neuilly-sur-Seine*, meets the social-housing criteria. After the 2005 riots, the government announced that it would enforce the SRU law more strictly.

Grand Paris which commenced in 2008 is the first plan in the city to include Paris and its metropolitan area together (Gonick, 2011). Ten international teams evaluated the connections between the centre and the suburbs, putting into visions to integrate these areas economically, socially and physically. These plans are optimistic and futuristic; hence, their implementation seems rather infeasible (Erlanger, 2009). However, Grand Paris has resulted in a transportation master plan which connects the inner belt with the city more effectively.

According to Gonick (2011), the physical mixing of immigrants and the French is unable to address the issues of inclusion and social mobility since the state has not outlined policies that would create more access to employment, improved housing conditions or educational attainment.

It can be observed that urban policy in France is led by the central government as in UK. Policies generated at the national level are implemented in cities all over the country. However there is a significant difference in Paris. French urban policy emphasises duties of the state and the government and insists on a common culture and identity (Dikec, 2006).

Physical patterns of subculture groups

Paris is the administrational seat of Ile-de-France Region. It consists of the city of Paris (*Paris Commune*), inner belt suburbs (*Petite Couronne*) and an outer belt (*Grande Couronne*). In order to evaluate the physical distribution of subculture groups, Paris has been evaluated with the city and its inner belt, the *banlieues*. The following evaluations are carried out according to the most recent census results (2010) of the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies-INSEE (Url-11).

It was not until 1990s that the French censuses started using ethnic origin as a category. Even today, the categories are either "immigrant" (permanent status, defined by country of birth) or "foreigner" (may be temporary in case of French citizenship acquisition, defined by nationality) instead of ethnic groups. Simon (2002) asserts that the immigrant category—which is used in this research—does not exactly coincide with ethnic minority categories of the US and the UK.

Compared with NYC and London, Paris has a much lower proportion of immigrants at only 15% (Table 3.3). This proportion is evenly distributed between Paris and the inner suburbs. The most populous ethnic group following the French is Europeans

(4.5%) who comprise the first immigrants (Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian) as well as later coming EU citizens. Europeans are congregated mostly in the inner suburbs (62%) but are the largest representatives of immigrants in the Paris commune (Figure 3.4).

Table 3.3 : Total population by ethnic group, Paris, 2010.

Ethnicity	2010 Census Results					
	Paris Agglomeration*		**Paris Commune**		**Inner Suburbs**	
	Number	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
Total Population	6,666,103	100	2,243,833	100	4,422,270	100
French	5,568,255	84.9	1,909,267	85.1	3,748,988	84.8
Maghreb	266,627	4.0	64,948	2.9	201,657	4.6
African-Other	200,627	3.0	53,477	2.4	147,150	3.3
European	300,287	4.5	115,132	5.1	185,155	4.2
Other	240,329	3.6	101,009	4.5	139,320	3.2

Source: National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies-INSEE (Url-11).
*****Paris agglomeration is not an administrative district but refers to Paris and its inner suburbs (*Petite Couronne*)

Immigrants from Maghreb (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria) constitute the third largest group (4%). 76% of this group is concentrated in the inner suburbs of which a 50% resides in Seine-Saint-Denis department at the north (Figure 3.4). Other Africans are also congregated in the inner suburbs by a similar proportion (73%), of which 53% reside in Seine-Saint-Denis. This department is the area where HLMs were mainly built.

The French also have a significant proportion in the inner suburbs (66%). Even though they are distributed quite evenly among the *petite couronne* departments, they are mostly populated in Hauts-de-Seine department by a ratio of 37%. This is the area which has previously been mentioned as where the *cités nouvelles* were built as a result of suburbanisation processes.

The total immigrants map in Figure 3.4 illustrates the immigrant population distribution according to communes. It is clearly visible that immigrants are concentrated in the northern suburb communes around Saint-Denis. This distribution is remarkably different from the ones of NYC and London, where nearly every borough had a considerable amount of immigrants.

The city centre and the inner suburbs are further separated by a highway called the *Bd. Périphérique* (Figure 3.4). Traditional development patterns separating the gentry from the rural areas are supported by such transportation decisions.

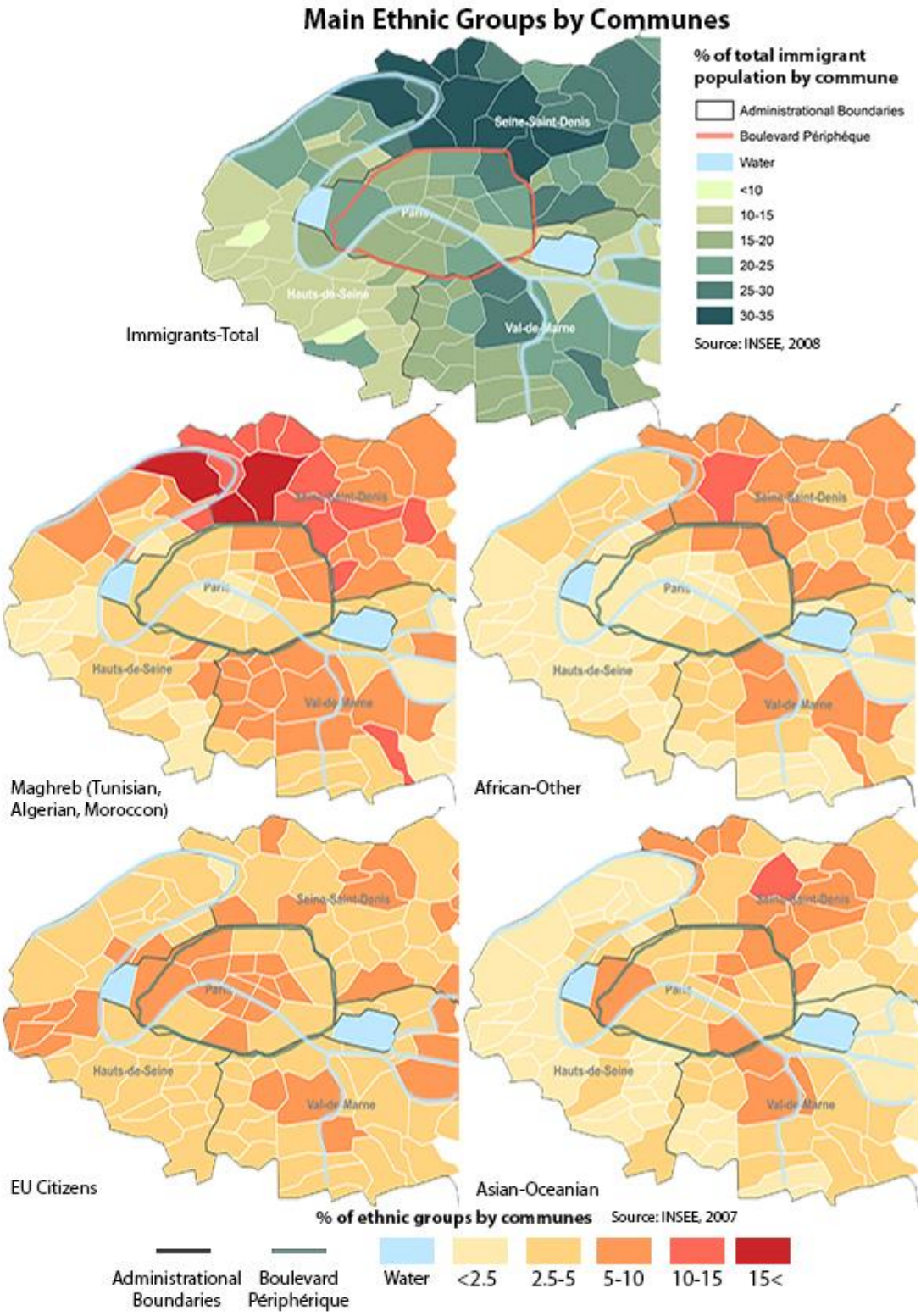

Figure 3.4 : Distribution of main ethnic groups by commune, Paris, 2010 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

3.2.4 Singapore

Settlement history of subculture groups

Singapore has distinct attributes among other multicultural cities presented in this chapter for a few reasons. First of all, being a city-state means that urban policies are directly national policies, signifying the power of the centralised governance within the country/city. Secondly, an Asian country necessitates a look at subjects like political culture, historical urban development patterns, economic development patterns, and cultural and demographic attributes from another angle. A different perspective is necessary which is not influenced by European or American points of view. Lastly, Singapore is a multi-ethnic country composed of Chinese (74%), Malays (13%) and Indians (9%) with the rest comprising the other group, mainly of European descendent (DoS, 2013). Being a multi-ethnic country with a past of colonization in such a socio-political environment, renders Singapore a fruitful case study for this thesis.

The British established a trading post and a settlement on the island in 1819. Short after the settlement's inception, due to new arrivals attracted by its free trade policy, the island was comprised of approximately 5000 Malays, Chinese, Bugis, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans (Url-12). Colonial Singapore was a plural society where there was racial division of labour; they met at the working place but they lived separately (Barr and Low, 2005).

In 1822, a town plan called the Jackson Plan was drawn to organise and compartmentalize immigrant groups according to their occupations (Yeoh, 2003). The fastest growing group, the Chinese were given the whole area on the west of the Singapore River adjoining the commercial district, which today is known as *Chinatown* (Figure 3.5). This area was further divided among the dialect groups. On the other hand, the affluent Asian and Europeans were encouraged to live together at the administrative centre. The Malays and Muslims were gathered on the extreme eastern fringes of the city, an area later became known as *Geylang Serai* (Figure 3.5). The assumption was that they would carry on with their occupation as fisherman. The Indians were found in four small groupings; the fourth of these developed along *Serangoon Road* (Figure 3.5) and is known today as Little India, adjacent to Chinatown (Sim et al., 2003).

The city-state became a crown colony of Britain in 1867, known as the Straits Settlements. The numbers of immigrants grew rapidly, but since the Chinese were the majority, administrators were approaching to this group more sympathetically (Url-12). The distribution of ethnic groups differentiated in this period and became more self-determined (Yeoh, 2003). The European community began to move inland to escape the unhygienic conditions that had developed in the central area. The Chinese moved into the space they left behind and put pressure on the adjacent Muslim population (Sim et al., 2003). This distribution was held until the early 1960s.

The colony was interrupted by the 1942 Japanese occupation. In the eyes of the Singaporeans, this was in contradiction with the invincibility of the British, which consequently strengthened the move towards Singapore's independence (Henderson, 2012). Eventually, the country gained independence in 1959. Malaya and Singapore united in 1963 to become Malaysia Federation, but racial tensions resulted in a riot and eventual separation in 1965.

People's Action Party (PAP) won the first elections in 1959 and stayed in office ever since. Singapore's government is described as being neither democratic, nor authoritarian, but somewhere in the middle (Henderson, 2012). It is generally accepted that the government seeks to order and control every aspect of life through censorship, laws and other restrictions (Sin, 2002).

After independence in 1965, the efforts for nation-building led to a forceful assimilation policy (Barr and Low, 2005). Public housing was used as a strategy to achieve integration and racial harmony (Sim et al., 2003). The emphasis was on multiculturalism rather than the domination of a single culture. However, the situation changed in 1970s, when neutrality of assimilation shifted to assimilation dominated by manifestations of 'Chineseness' (Barr and Low, 2005). The domination of Chinese values, beliefs and life styles within the everyday life of Singapore is still evident today (Giam, 2009).

Hard multiculturalism approach (see section '2.1.2 Describing multiculturalism' and Table 2.4) of Singapore is criticised by Vasu and Ramakrishna (2007) for three reasons: (1) categorization of the population challenges cohesiveness; (2) categorization gives rise to negative stereotyping; (3) constant emphasis on difference hinders natural development of commonalities.

Today, Singapore is heavily dependent on workers from Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines for unskilled jobs (Castles and Miller, 1993). These workers are strictly controlled. Unskilled workers have to leave after a few years for new ones to come and they are not allowed to settle or bring families. They are forbidden to marry Singaporeans and women have to undergo regular pregnancy tests (Castles and Miller, 1993). On the other hand, Singapore is eager to attract skilled and professional workers, particularly those of Chinese ethnicity from Hong Kong. They are encouraged to settle and quickly granted permanent residence.

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding subculture groups

Sin (2003) warns us to evaluate Asian institutional context with caution since the role of the government in Asian countries is much more pronounced than their western counterparts. Singapore is distinct in this manner as a city-state, where the dominance of government bodies in urban affairs is inevitable. Accordingly, the degree of government intervention in shaping the socio-spatial layout is dramatically high in Singapore, compared to the free market dominance in western countries.

In Singapore, public housing has been used as a social engineering tool (Sin, 2002). According to Yeoh (2003) local urban affairs in Singapore was a "distinctively British experiment". The assumption that socio-economic problems could be met by physical solutions was imported from the British colonial ideology (Sin, 2002). Within this ideology, order and control through technical approaches was taken as the norm. This is why public housing has been used by the government to produce mixed communities and neighbourhoods.

Housing Development Board (HDB), the only authorised institution for public housing in Singapore, was established in 1960, to compensate the housing need of the growing population. The fact that the HDB was the first statutory board set up by the government confirms the eagerness of the government to fight segregation (Sin, 2002). As a young republic, Singapore aimed integration since it was essentially a multi-racial country.

Public housing in Singapore was conceptualized quite differently from its European and American counterparts. In the US, public housing has been associated with deprivation, underclass and the poor. In the European context, public housing is conceptualized socio-economically as affordable housing. In Singapore however,

public housing is used as a tool for nation-building, community bonding and communal identity formation by providing racial mix in the residential arena.

As we have seen, the reasons for segregation have its roots in the 1822 Jackson plan of the colonial period. Thus, during the 1970s, HDB tried to counteract this traditional segregationist pattern by serving on a first-come first-served basis to allocate racially balanced housing in the new towns that it created (Sim et al., 2003).

In the 1980s, however, there was a trend in ethnic re-grouping in some of these new towns and ethnic enclaves started to gain visibility. As a result, in 1989, a quota system, known as Neighbourhood Racial Limits (NRL) was introduced. The aim of the government and the HDB was to create a replica of Singapore's ethnic mix in every block, every neighbourhood and every New Town (The Straits Times, 17 February 1989). A maximum limit for each ethnic group—Chinese, Malay, Indian/Other— was set on both block and neighbourhood levels.

Given that there is no counterpart in housing sector big enough to compete with the HDB, the ethnic quota policy has dramatic implications on the configuration of the ethnic landscape of the city-state. In 2012, 82% of Singaporeans lived in HDB flats (Url-13). Sin (2003) asserts that, recently, HDB is including the private sector into the process to provide a better socioeconomic mix.

Singapore's deliberate policies to achieve pluralism have resulted in an unnatural segregation throughout the city-state. In other words, advocacy for integration renders an atypical level of ethnic clustering. The secondary housing market has enabled members of various ethnic groups to relocate geographically over time, to more separate ethnic enclaves (Sin, 2002).

There is a great amount of literature evaluating the success of public housing policy in Singapore (Sim et al., 2003; Barr and Low, 2005; Sin, 2002, 2003; Yeoh, 2003). These studies have all concluded that there is a decrease in segregation and increase in integration for the 40 years of HDB policies. However, as Sim et al., (2003) have put it; the physical mix of household does not necessarily imply an automatic integration among various ethnic groups in socioeconomic activities. In other words, inter-ethnic interaction has been restricted to superficial social exchanges (Sin, 2002). The imposition of ethnic quotas on public housing has been met with resistance (Sin, 2002), and Malay dissatisfaction with the ruling party (Barr and Low, 2005), PAP, has had a

reflection on the last election in 2011 where PAP's vote fell by 7% to its lowest share since independence.

Physical patterns of subculture groups

The multi-ethnic character of Singapore was one of the main reasons for choosing it as a case-study. The country has four official languages—English, Malay, Chinese, and Tamil—and is one of the most developed countries in Asia attracting many immigrants. The following evaluations are carried out according to the most recent census results (2013) of the Department of Statistics, Singapore (DoS, 2013).

In Singapore, population census results are categorised according to resident and non-resident categories. The non-residents are foreigners working and studying in the country without being granted a permanent residence. They are usually composed of Europeans and Eurasians of particularly Chinese origin. The residents comprise Singapore citizens and permanent residents (non-residents who have been granted permanent residence).

The available statistical data for Singapore is presented for residents (if otherwise not stated). Ethnic origins of the residents and their proportions within the total population are listed in Table 3.4. These proportions are the ones that the government is trying to achieve in every block and neighbourhood with the NRL (quota policy) by using public housing.

Table 3.4 : Total population by ethnic group, Singapore, 2013.

Ethnicity	**2013 Population**	
	Number	**Percent**
Total Population	**5,312,400**	**100**
Non-Residents	**1,494,200**	**28.1**
Residents	**3,818,200**	**71.9**
Chinese	2,832,000	74.2
Malays	509,500	13.3
Indians	351,000	9.2
Other	125,700	3.3

Source: DoS, 2013.

As mentioned before, the 40 year long integration policy has been effective in providing a homogeneous social geography. Since the HDB owns 80% of the housing stock, it manipulates urban ethnic geography as desired, forming a totally dispersed appearance on the ground. Sim et al.'s (2003) research which tries to identify if this distribution can truly be detected on the urban level, conclude that "there is no division

where one single ethnic group is present beyond its national racial proportion" in their study area west of the city centre. Nevertheless, they do find traces of higher segregation averages in certain areas and attribute this to the existence of these patterns before the implementation of the quota policy.

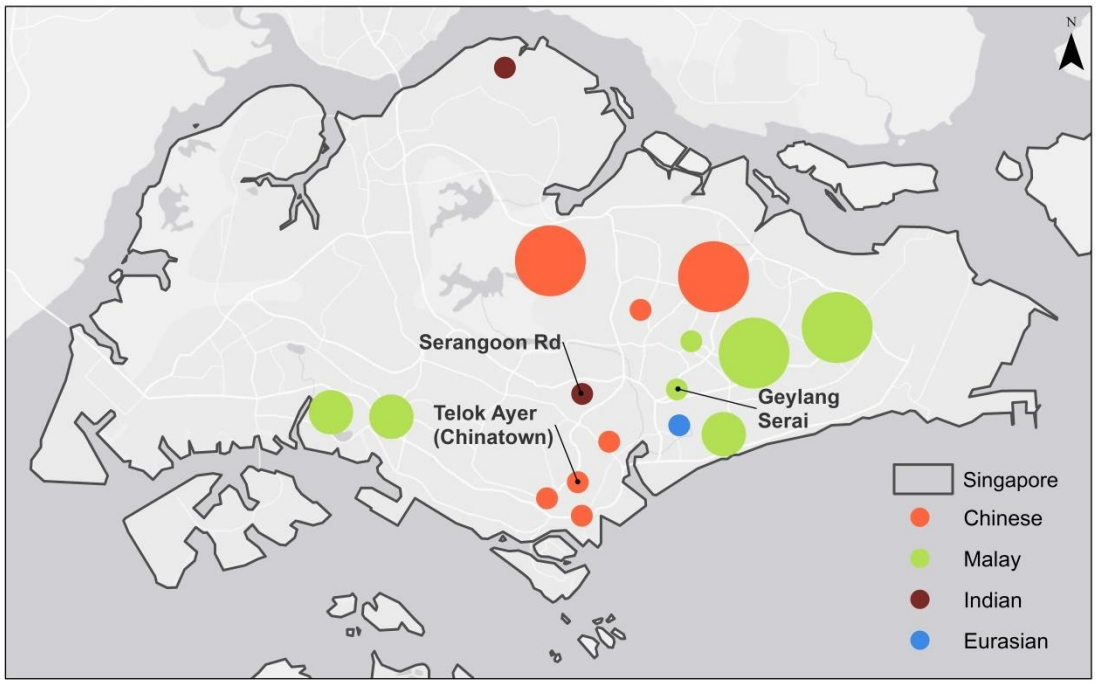

Figure 3.5 : Ethnic enclaves before 1989, Singapore (redrawn from Sim et al., 2003 by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014)

Given these reasons (homogeneous distribution) this case study does not include an ethnic distribution map according to administrative boundaries. Figure 3.5 shows ethnic enclaves of Singapore which existed before the quota policy. However, even though the racial limits policy is in effect for 40 years, as Sim et al.'s (2003) findings propose, some ethnic groupings can still be detected in the city-state as legacies of these enclaves.

3.2.5 Evaluation of multicultural cities

The analysis of multicultural cities (MCs) was carried out to evaluate certain assumptions and answer specific research questions that were put forward at the introduction of this thesis;

- The rationale of supporting an integrated city rather than a divided one; or in other words, motives behind supporting the city to function as a whole;
- The role of urban policy and planning that help to maintain life as it is and prevent division;

- Whether the unique history and distinct structure of each city and their subcultural groups have some commonalities in so far to point lessons for divided cities (DCs);
- The balance of national level immigration policies and local level urban planning and policies;
- Whether reunification of DCs can be resolved like MCs.

Settlement history of subculture groups

Table 3.5 : Comparison of settlement histories of subculture groups.

City	*History of Immigration*	*Historical Settlement Patterns*
NYC Colony (Dutch/British)	**Colonial settlement and Globalisation; Classical country of immigration** - Internal migration—The Great Migration (1910s-1960s). - Suburbanization: via individual preferences (White Flight) supported by discriminatory government practices.	- Determined mainly by discriminatory policies (Redlining etc.). A racial urban pattern evolved. - Harlem became a ghetto after The Great Migration - Succession Theory; the centre is predominantly occupied by immigrants.
London Colonizer	**Decolonisation** (1950s) - Suburbanization was via government policy. - Immigration was promoted to replace population loss.	- Determined by labour force needs (1950s-1960s). - Determined by individual preferences and pre-immigration statuses. A relatively dispersed urban pattern evolved. - Immigrants tend to suburbanize as they become more affluent.
Paris Colonizer	**Decolonisation** (1950s) - Suburbanization: via government policy (after WWII). Construction of *cités*.	- Determined by government policies; building public estates (HLMs) in the inner suburbs—*banlieues*. A segregated urban pattern evolved. - Immigrants predominantly live in the inner suburbs (north and east).
Singapore Colony (British)	**Colonial settlement and Globalisation; Country of immigration**, particularly from neighbouring countries.	- Colonial legacy (Jackson Plan); according to ethnic backgrounds (Colonial period) - Determined by government policies; quota policy in public housing estates (since independence). A dispersed urban pattern evolved.

- London and Paris both have a history of colonisation as the colonisers. Hence, processes of decolonisation triggered by globalisation have had profound affects in both cities since the 1950s.
- In contrast to Paris, subcultural settlement patterns in London developed rather organically and depended more on the newcomers' preferences and backgrounds than governmental procedures.

- As a colony, Singapore's socio-spatial layout was reconfigured some time in history with regards to the wishes of the coloniser; leading to residential segregation according to ethnic backgrounds. After independence, another top-down distribution policy was pursued, this time aiming integration in the name of nation-building. So as in Paris, conscious and forceful policies were implemented; in the case of Singapore, to integrate, in Paris, to exclude, subculture groups.
- A distinctive characteristic of NYC's traditional settlement patterns is its discriminatory policies. This eventually caused some parts of the city to be commemorated by specific ethnic groups (like Harlem for blacks).
- While London and NYC, although with different approaches, have followed the path of the Chicago School's Succession Theory in the formation of ethnic enclaves, Singapore and Paris have forced upon their residents the place to live. Due to the relative scantiness of discriminatory policies in London, London's segregation has remained low.

National policies regarding subculture groups

Table 3.6 : Comparison of national policies regarding subculture groups.

City	*Stance*	*Constitutional Affirmation*	*Policies*
NYC	- Assimilationist (Melting-Pot) to Pluralist	- Not affirmed but recognised as a fact.	- Emphasising 'diversity'. - Integration is viewed as; assimilating into the mainstream.
London	- Pluralist	- Not affirmed but recognised as a fact.	- Emphasising 'integration' and 'cohesion'. - Integration is viewed as; engagement with other groups while preserving some distinctive cultural traits.
Paris	- Assimilationist	- Not affirmed, not recognised.	- Emphasising 'single identity' in a 'single nation'. - Integration is viewed as; a class-based project, with little reference to ethnicity.
Singapore	- Assimilationist (Forceful Integration)	- Affirmed	- Emphasising 'multiculturalism' rather than domination of a single culture. - Integration is used for social-engineering and nation-building.

- French government is the most assimilationist among other case studies.
- Even though the government of Singapore aims to integrate its multi-racial citizens, what is being implemented is a forceful assimilation policy. What

makes Singapore unique among case studies and also less assimilationist than Paris is its emphasis on 'multiculturalism' rather than domination of a single culture. This is mainly because in Singapore, the subjects of integration are not immigrant minorities as in other MC case studies, but national communities.

- As Peach (2005) asserts, "Assimilation has been forced upon the USA to create a nation" (p. 5), as it is in Singapore today. American approach to multiculturalism is relatively new. Even though integration is viewed as assimilating into the mainstream, cultural diversity is recognised and accepted in the private sphere.
- UK is the most integrationist among case studies. The pluralistic perspective, where immigrant groups can live according to their cultural aspirations while engaging with other groups, seems more successful than other case studies.

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding subculture groups

Table 3.7 : Comparison of urban policies and planning approaches regarding subculture groups.

City	***Planning System***	***Approach***	***Interventions***
NYC Localized	Strategic guidelines	Ethnically unconscious / Economic rather than ethnic	Slum clearance / Affordable housing (i.e. Ten Year Housing Program).
London Centralized	Strategic guidelines	Ethnically conscious / Meets local demands	Equity policies in council housing / Race equality integrated into renewal projects.
Paris Highly centralized	Technical and physical	Ethnically unconscious / Socio-economic rather than ethnic / Exclusionary	Defines priority areas (i.e. DSQ, ZUS) on an economic basis / Public housing (HLMs) is used to push minorities to the *banlieues.*
Singapore Highly centralized	Technical and physical	Ethnically conscious / Integrationist	Quota policies in housing used for creating racially mixed neighbourhoods by the HDB.

- Urban policies of the US are dominated by neoliberal economic development; in resemblance with the UK but in contrast with France and Singapore where urban policies are dominated by republican development (Dikec, 2006).
- Singapore is the only city which shelters explicit ethnic consciousness in its urban policies (most pronounced in housing). In fact, it can be stated that its

policies depend on ethnic backgrounds entirely for the sake of building an integrated, yet multi-racial nation. However, its oppressive nature is bound to attract criticism and create different forms of ethnic clustering.

- The second most ethnically conscious city in its urban planning approaches is London. Urban strategies are carried to the national agenda and policy reports (for example *Our Shared Future*) are produced to strengthen local authorities in order to address their local diversity issues and the tensions they may cause. These sound policies advise local authorities to attend to the needs of their subculture groups. Such an approach enables feedback loops to nurture the urban system and is necessary for it to function without problems. Apart from nationally produced urban policies, planning is also ethnically conscious in London. There are policies which aim to promote and ensure that different communities' needs and expectations are addressed in the 2011 plan.
- Paris and NYC are at the other end of the spectrum, with almost no reference to ethnicity in their urban policies and plans.
- Paris's urban policies and planning processes are overtly centralised. Each policy regarding urban conditions, housing issues and *banlieues* are created with a socio-economic perspective even though they are mostly intertwined with immigrants and ethnic groups. There is a tendency to exclude these spaces from the broader metropolitan area.
- Among the case studies, NYC is the most localised one in its urban policy and planning approaches. Even though there is no ethnic consciousness evident as in London or Singapore, ethnic diversity is accepted as a fact and used as a comparative advantage.

Physical patterns of subculture groups

The reason of a subculture group's entrance to a city also defines its settlement pattern. Current situation of different subculture groups and relationships among them is not only affected by these historical settlement patterns, but also national and local policies we have evaluated up till now.

Table 3.8 : Comparison of physical patterns of subculture groups.

City	*Distribution*	*Relations*	*Background*
NYC	Segmented - High levels of segregation in all the boroughs - Each borough renown for a certain ethnic group - Suburbs are white-majority	Interdependent	- Discriminatory policies (Redlining etc.)
London	Dispersed / Plural - All around the metropolitan area, including suburbs - The most concentrated group (Bangladeshis) in the centre	Co-existent	- Individual preferences (pre-immigration statuses).
Paris	Polarised - Concentrated in northern and eastern inner suburbs	Alienated	- Public housing policies for exclusion (HLMs).
Singapore	Mixed / Plural	Integrated	- Public housing policies for integration (quota policy).

- Singapore has put firm policies in place to integrate its subculture groups. When this is coupled with the fact that the government owns the vast majority of the housing stock, the residential geography of the city-state appears to be dispersed in terms of ethnic backgrounds.

- London's segregation levels are also low when compared with Paris and NYC. Even though each ethnic group is commemorated by a certain area of the city, these areas are not excluded from the rest of the city. Economic entrepreneurship develops within these ethnic clusters. For example, Southall has a vast number of Indian shops and restaurants. Street names, bus and train station names, signboards and the like are also written in Hindu. But these neighbourhoods are not ghettoes or highly segregated enclaves as in NYC's Harlem. The relationship of their residents is on-going with the rest of the city. This is mainly because, as we have analysed, local authorities are bestowed with appropriate guidance, sufficient rights and tools to meet the needs and aspirations of their subculture groups. In other words, they are 'learning systems'.

- In Paris, apart from historical urban development patterns separating the gentry of the city centre from the rural population of the peripheries, housing policies and urban planning activities have helped to increase the divide between the

centre and the *banlieues*. The people living in the *banlieues* are socio-economically bound to the centre, they only sleep in the HLMs but work in the centre. However, vice versa does not hold; Parisians do not go to the HLMs for working or the like.

- This attribute of Paris's segregation is rather different from the ones in London and NYC. The latter examples have shown a historical settlement pattern defined by Succession Theory, where the newcomers settle in the centre and as they prosper, move outside to the suburbs.
- NYC is the most segregated city among the case studies. Segregation is high in all boroughs of the city, each renowned for its ethnic structure. But different from London, suburbs do not shelter major ethnic concentrations.
- National and local policies have been effective in the physical appearance of subculture groups in all the examined cities, but they are obviously more pronounced in Paris and Singapore.

3.3 Divided Cities

3.3.1 Belfast

Settlement history of subculture groups

Ethnic conflict in Belfast has its roots in the 17th century starting from British colonial rule. For the native population (Catholics), the new towns built by the invaders (Protestants) were a new challenge (Jones, 1960). At this time, Catholics lived on the rural hinterland, outside the city walls. Belfast grew slowly in the 18th century but boomed in the 19th century due to industrialisation. The labour force need of industries was mainly drawn from the rural hinterland. This caused Catholics to live inside the walls in clustered residential environments. Catholics resided along the Falls Road, while Protestants were clustered along Shankill and Crumlin Roads, a little north (Jones, 1960). Industries were also segregated by religious groups, with managerial jobs reserved for Protestants (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009).

Disturbances rose as the numbers of Catholics increased in the second half of 19th century. Irish nationalism grew in opposition to the movements in support of union with Great Britain, consequently transforming the conflict into a political one. A new

label was added to religious (Catholic-Protestant) and ethnic (Irish-British) ones; political (Nationalist-Unionist).

In 1921, partition took place. Ireland was now 80% of the island (mostly Irish / Catholic) that seceded from the UK; while Northern Ireland (predominantly British / Protestant) was granted a degree of regional autonomy, with Belfast as their capital. As a consequence, segregation in Belfast gradually increased during the 20th century; since people did not uproot overnight. Eventually, Catholics retreated into an isolated, and to some degree, institutionally self-sufficient world (Boal, 1996).

The period after 1969, when the first 'Peace Wall' (peace line) was erected, is referred to as 'The Troubles'. As segregation increased, the concentration of each ethnic group increased, and the boundaries between two groups became well-defined and symbolically more important. Brand (2009c) refers to Peace Walls as 'spatial artefacts' of division. They were constructed arbitrarily by residents themselves from all sorts of material, generally along the perimeters of Catholic enclaves where volatile interaction among the two groups was most possible.

The first government supported physical barriers, peace walls were constructed in 1969 at the interfaces where segregated Catholic and Protestant neighbourhoods collide with each other. The aim was to minimize or eliminate conflict among the two groups; hence they were intended to be temporary. However today, these walls still remain and many others have subsequently been added to the urban fabric, adding up to a total of 88 (CRC, 2008). They are either built upon the request of the residents or by the authorities if seen necessary.

The duration of The Troubles date from the end of 1960s to 1998 Good Friday Agreement. Much progress was made on the political front during the 1990s and these culminated in 1998 Agreement. However, political agreements changed the nature of political violence rather than eliminated it (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). Division involves everyone, and divides everything – sports, education, hospitals etc.— and today, new peace lines are demanded and planned to be built in addition to the existing ones.

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding division

During The Troubles, planning in Northern Ireland pursued a strategy of formal technocratic neutrality (Ellis, 2001; Bollens, 1999). In other words, there was no effort

to tackle residential segregation from the field of planning (Murtagh and Keaveney, 2006), since this type of planning is the traditional style of urban planning in Anglo-Saxon world (Bollens, 2002). There were no special or case-specific approaches.

This technical and neutral approach was evident in planning principles: 1 | to position government's role and image in Belfast as a neutral participant not biased toward either Protestant or Catholic; and 2 | to assure that government policy does not exacerbate sectarian tensions by managing ethnic space in a way that reacts to, and reflects, residents' wishes (Bollens 1998, 2000).

With the Good Friday Agreement the centralised structure of the government abolished and a new administrative order was formed. The severity of political violence created an urgent need for community relations work (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). Thus, the government departments were obligated to present equity schemes (Dennis, 2011).

In order to address these obligations, a 'community cohesion' objective was adopted in the third Regional Development Strategy, produced in 2001. This plan was a big step "to use planning policy to address the effects of residential segregation and to promote neutral sites for employment, recreation and housing" (Gaffikin et al., 2008, p. 126). The aim was to foster development which contributes to community relations, which recognizes cultural diversity and reduces socioeconomic differentials within Northern Ireland (DRD, 2001). Detailed actions defined within the strategy are as follows: 1 | develop public, private and community sectors partnerships for community cooperation; 2 | facilitate the removal of existing physical barriers between communities; 3 | support the development of 'shared places'; 4 | revitalise the role of town centres and other common places; 5 | promote the development of major employment areas accessible by all; 6 | improve and develop public transport to provide safe and equal access for everyone; 7 | strengthen the network of heritage centre, museums and arts centres for a better understanding of cultural diversity; 8 | promote cultural diversity through the creation of opportunities in creative industries associated with the arts (DRD, 2001).

However, its delivery has not been as effective as first envisaged (Ellis, 2001; Murtagh and Keaveney, 2006). Even if other governmental bodies have taken up some of the

challenges, these commitments are not followed through to development plans and planning policy (Gaffikin et al., 2008).

A similar government strategy for community relations is, A Shared Future 2003 (Darby and Knox, 2004). It poses two alternatives: 1 | accepting the reality of division and segregation while managing their most negative consequences; or, 2 | promoting rapid progress towards a more integrated and shared society. Even though the majority of consultation reports endorsed the second approach, due to continued political uncertainty, many did not sustain (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011).

Some argue that the policies of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE) have contributed to the increase in residential segregation (Bown, 2007). The NIHE is responsible for the maintenance and distribution of public or social housing in Northern Ireland; therefore, its actions have long-ranging effects for the interface areas, which are comprised primarily of such council houses. Furthermore, Murtagh (cited in Conway and Byrne, 2005) asserts that Department of Environment uses "wedge planning", whereby industrial, business or public space is planned as a buffer between contentious areas. This can be seen as a positive alternative to building a peace line, however it does not guarantee that conflict will decrease since it does not mean that these areas will remain neutral (Bown, 2007).

Physical pattern of division

Urban arena of Belfast is 'hyper-segregated' (Bollens 1998). In 2001, around half of the city's population lived in wards that are 90% Protestant or 90% Catholic community backgrounds (Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011). The interface areas of these segregated zones are the flashpoints of social tensions. These enclaves suffer from a low quality urban environment. Gaffikin and Morrissey's (2011) findings assert that most deprived areas are in most segregated zones of either Catholic or Protestant background (North, West and East Belfast). The residents of the southern part of the city however, are affluent and even though these affluent Catholic and Protestant residents are spatially mixed, they are socially separated (Brand, 2009c).

Gaffikin et al. (2008) designate four main zones in modern-day Belfast: 1| Ethnic space: dominance of segregated residential communities. Protestants live along the Shankill Road, separated from the Catholics who concentrate along the Falls Road due to settlement history (Figure 3.6). 2| Neutral space: based largely in the city centre and

waterfront, safe space open to both communities for employment, leisure, shopping and residence. 3| Shared space: not just contact, but also engagement across the divide. Integrated schools and Queen's University can be examples. 4| Cosmopolitan space: spaces that have an international character and no reference to division. 'New spaces' (Titanic) along the waterfront are conceived more in these terms, but also re-definition of 'old spaces' like the City Hall may bring the same sense. These new spaces are referred to as "showcase areas"; meaning that they are showcasing Belfast as a 'normal' city.

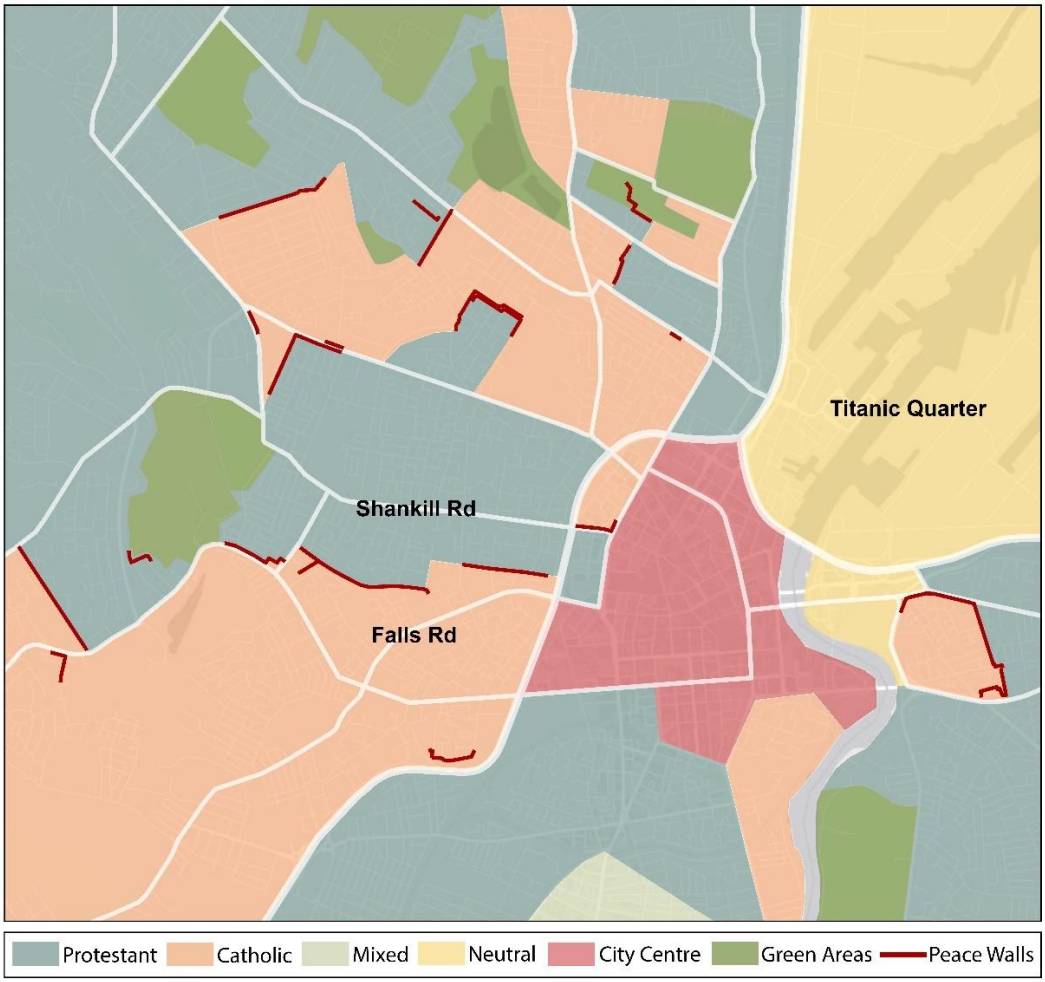

Figure 3.6 : Physical patterns of subculture groups, Belfast, 2012 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Population decline of the city centre is a major problem in Belfast as an outcome of a long-standing tendency to cluster with their kind. New apartment complexes are being built in and around the city centre to create balanced and sustainable communities, but these gated complexes are actually socially detached from their environments.

Enclosure and higher socio-economic status of the residents generate new layers of division.

Since the two groups prefer to live in their own neighbourhoods, duplication of certain urban functions is seen as necessary for each community. Duplicated urban facilities include hospitals, schools, churches, leisure centres, libraries, and playgrounds. In highly segregated areas, these facilities are usually used by members of one community only.

The contemporary urban structure of the inner and central city has been shaped by major transportation programs that started in the 1960s and is still on-going (Hackett et al., 2011). For instance, the new Westlink Motorway cut a path through working class housing areas that were located adjacent to the commercial core of the city (Figure 3.7). Significantly, this affected both Catholic and Protestant areas and became a barrier between those communities and the commercial city centre.

Figure 3.7 : Westlink Motorway and the city centre, 2014 (Google Maps, 2014).

Roads are planned spaciously, from 4 to 6 bands, covering a vast amount of land, and furthermore, accentuating the already existing divisions in the city. Another pressing problem arises from this; vast amount of vacant and derelict land. These lands are largely left-over space from the 1970s' road programs (Sterrett et al., 2011). Furthermore, very frequently, there are spacious car parks, which support car-domination within the city. Pedestrian connections are inadequate. Roads became cul-

de-sacs that end with gates or fences after the erection of peace walls (Figure 3.8). Hence, accessibility and connectivity in the city is chaotic.

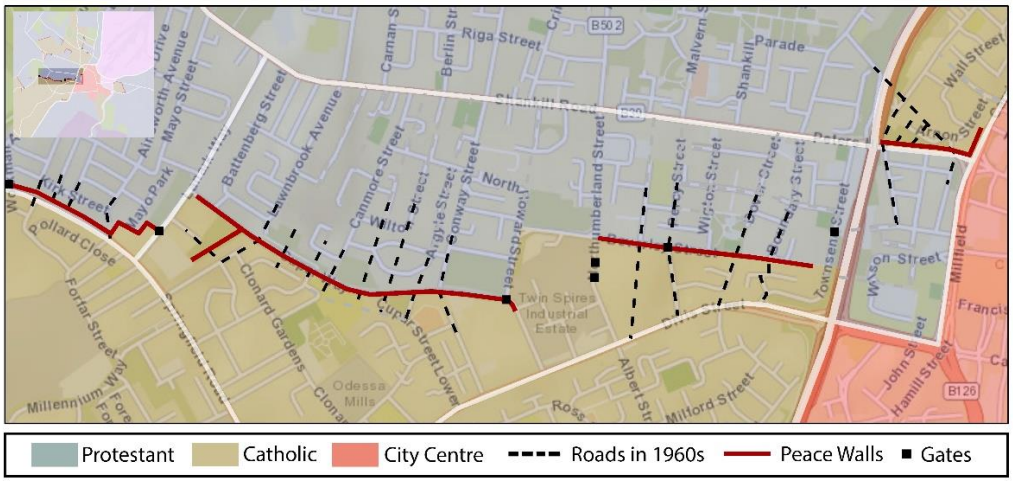

Figure 3.8 : Disconnected roads in residential areas, Belfast, 2012 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Physical environment is transformed into personal regions by the use of symbols. Murals are the most visible artefacts of territorial ownership. Curb stones are also transformed into territorial markers through red-white-blue or green-white-orange paint in many Unionist or Nationalist areas, respectively. Flags, being cheap and easy to display, are also used for strengthening belonging. Figure 3.9 represents examples of territorialisation in the city.

Without a question, the bitterest consequences of division are the 'Peace Walls'. Some are as high as ten meters and sometimes several kilometres long. Some have gates which can be closed at specific times of the day; some are operated by the police, some by adjacent communities. These walls are usually built upon request of the residents living near interface areas. Recently, these walls have been painted by graffiti artists around the world to create tourist attraction, but as Brand (2009c) implies beautification legitimizes their existence. Peace walls are the scars of conflict on the urban form of the city, appearing suddenly and unpredictably, interrupting roads/parks, and shaping daily movement patterns of local residents drastically.

Figure 3.9 : Tangible markers of division in the city of Belfast; (a) caged houses; (b) peace walls (Cupar Way); (c) coloured curb stones; (d) murals; (e) sign post (G. Caner photograph archives).

3.3.2 Jerusalem

Settlement history of subculture groups

Jerusalem has a very long history, which has been documented since the fourth millennium BC. To narrow this down and understand the Israeli-Palestinian rivalry, Benvenisti (1987) asserts that one must fix the starting point to 1882, when the first Zionist settlement was established. But the conflict took a stark change starting from mid-1930s, during the British rule. Between 1920 and 1948, Jerusalem was administered by the British, as the capital of British Mandate of Palestine. Historically, Jerusalem was a city of quarters; instead of rigid separations, territories were marked arbitrarily by the residents (Pullan, 2009). The British continued to develop Jerusalem in this manner; but unlike older quarters, new neighbourhoods were regarded as autonomous communities or enclaves (Pullan, 2009). Population grew rapidly (due mostly to Jewish immigration) and the proportion of Jews increased. Although the city was always one entity until 1948, in mid-1930s both the Jewish and Palestinian communities had developed into cohesive and self-sustaining societies (Benvenisti, 1987).

The British designated twelve wards for governance purposes, according to religious majorities. These were the first ethnic divisions of Jerusalem (Benvenisti, 1986). Right after World War II, international support for an Israeli state emerged (Wasserstein, 2002) and culminated into a civil war in 1947-1948. This resulted in the termination of British Mandate and Israel's declaration of independence. The 1948 Arab-Israeli war followed and ended with the eventual division of the country.

The formal division of Jerusalem in 1949 was a result of a United Nations (UN) Resolution. From 1949 to 1967, the Green Line marked the international armistice lines between Israel and Jordan as well as East and West Jerusalem. Jerusalem became a socially, physically and functionally divided city. The two countries each had their own institutions and jurisdiction over their own half of the city.

Jerusalem was not reunified by agreement, but instead by an occupation as a result of the 1967 Six-Day War. East Jerusalem was incorporated into Israel and this was not recognized by the international community or the Palestinians. Since the two halves of the city were reunited by force, they remained hostile even though the Green Line was dismantled. All the barricades and partitions along the former Green Line were demolished and municipal services unified (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999). However, Jews and Arabs still avoid each other's sections and this way of living is supported by urban policies producing separate residential areas.

The persisting mental wall among communities is joined by a physical one since 2002 – the Security Fence – throughout Jerusalem and the West Bank. This is, in a sense, a re-division of the city. Systems of physical and electronic separation are being built between Israeli and Palestinian territories and within the Palestinian areas (beyond the internationally recognized Green Line) in northward and eastward directions. This wall is planned to be 570 km long and 6-8m high. The regional barrier passes through Jerusalem with 51 km segment separating Israeli Jerusalem from Palestinian suburbs to the east (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009). Today, a bird's eye of Jerusalem shows this complex patchwork of settlements and villages across the city, with its plethora of borders (Figure 3.10).

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding division

During the 30 years of British rule, Jerusalem was administered and planned as one urban entity. Five land-use plans were prepared all of which had one common feature;

the separation of the sacred Old City from the religious territories that surrounded it, transforming it into a *corpus separatum* (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999), which never materialized.

Israeli planning between 1948 and 67, and especially after 1967, followed the British tradition by concentrating on individual enclaves; accessed and structured by primary road systems and separated by open landscapes (Pullan, 2009). These enclaves were mainly built only for the Jewish population for nationalistic purposes: "Since 1967, urban policies have been shaped by objectives of national security and political control" (Bollens, 1998). Bollens gives details of the goals of planning policies after 1967 as follows:

- To extend the Jewish city demographically and geographically.
- To control the heights for military security, requiring Jewish neighbourhoods to be built on strategic hilltops or in areas needed to secure hilltops.
- To reconnect the formerly partitioned areas.
- To build Jewish neighbourhoods so that division of the city was never again possible.

Yiftachel (2010 quoted in Chiodelli, 2012) refers to the planning approach of Jerusalem as parallel processes of: "Judaization" (encouragement of Jewish extension particularly in the eastern part of the city) and "de-Arabization" (containment of Arab urban expansion). Chiodelli (2012) reports that; as part of Judaization process, since 1967, 35% of Palestinian land has been annexed to build 51 000 Jewish houses, in exclusive Jewish neighbourhoods.

This kind of planning is nominated as "partisan" planning (Benvenisti, 1986; Bollens, 1999) and establishes a radical form of "frontier urbanism" (Pullan, 2011), "forensic architecture" (Weizman et al., 2010), "conflict urbanism" (Misselwitz and Rienietz, 2009) and a "geometry of occupation" (Weizman, 2006). A local form of gated communities is the main form of urban development (Pullan, 2011). These statements are an evidence of how architecture, planning and urban design are used as a tool in the conflict themselves (Misslewitx and Rienietz, 2009). Dividing Israel from the West Bank with the 'security fence' is taking place amid growing international concern. Israel states that the wall is for security, with the intention of preventing Palestinian infiltration from the West Bank, especially suicide bombers.

In 2000 Jerusalem Master Plan was launched, which was the first plan to include the whole area of Jerusalem, including the east. To this day, the plan has not yet been approved due to revisions and critiques but is a frame of reference for current planning decisions in Jerusalem (Barkat, 2010).

The plan is highly criticized for having racist overtones and discriminatory approaches. Only one Arab is included in the planning team composed of 39 professional workers (Margalit, 2005). Chiodelli (2012) asserts that the plan is composed of some General Statements which act as if the plan is being done for a city that is situated in an apolitical, non-problematic and neutral environment; and, Substantive Statements—which are the technical and on the ground implications of general statements—which reveal the uneven and discriminatory policies the plan shelters. For example, two strategies defined under housing policies, densification and expansion, are disproportionately proposed for the Jewish and Arab settlements; where Jewish housing is to expand while Arab housing is to go through densification.

Chiodelli (2012) and Margalit (2005) imply that the plan is inapplicable as it is unrealistic. It ignores the spatial consequences of the wall (Chiodelli, 2012, 2013) and states that the complicated situations arising from its presence will be treated 'case by case' (Chiodelli, 2012). However they also assert that there are only two positive aspects of the plan: 1 | the 70:30 Jew-Arab demographic balance has been set to 60:40; and, 2 | the separate nature of communities will be preserved to avoid forced displacements and maintain the multicultural character of the city.

Yiftachel and Yacobi (2003) and Yiftachel's (2009) identification of the ethnocratic regime' where all dimensions of planning (territorial, procedural, economic and cultural) combine to create the 'ethnocratic city' (see, '2.2.2 Planning in divided cities') is actually given to explain Jerusalem's urban policies and planning approaches.

Physical pattern of division

After division, West Jerusalem became the capital of the state of Israel. Immigration was encouraged to expand the settlement and government ministries were relocated from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009). As the former commercial centre of the city along Jaffa Road was bombed and deserted after the war, West Jerusalem shifted its business centre away from the Old City, towards the west,

north and south. The built-up area was expanded to its hinterland, where possible–west and the south. These suburban settlements, over the years, transformed Jerusalem into a city of neighbourhoods, each with its own concentration of homogeneous, socio-economic, ethnic and religious populations (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999).

On the other hand, the population and prosperity of East Jerusalem shrank because investments were focused in the capital, Amman. Palestinians preferred to live and work in Amman. Therefore, population growth in East Jerusalem lagged behind. Residential areas developed to the north, integrating rural communities within the urban area. Therefore, urban areas in East Jerusalem were segmented, lacking continuity, with separate population concentrations and lack of infrastructure (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999). Unlike West Jerusalem, there was no organised planning or zoning processes.

Residential quarters on both sides of the border became cul-de-sacs. Areas close to the city centre were occupied by immigrants, refugees or the destitute (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009). As might be expected, the two halves of the city shrank away from each other, trying to avoid the negative impacts of border areas: one side was oriented westward to Israel (Tel-Aviv) whilst the other focused east on Jordan (Amman).

Similar to every other divided city, Jerusalem was obliged to duplicate itself in every way. A dual landscape was visible through separate municipalities, CBDs, hospitals, schools, transportation networks and infrastructural systems.

Within days of reunification, after the removal of the walls, water delivery systems, telephone and electricity links were quickly integrated. Jerusalem was physically re-united. The consequences of division had to be dealt with; two cities that evolved in different directions had to be integrated; the empty and vacated areas in the borderland had to be patched; multiple problems raised by the dual landscape had to be resolved.

However, prominence was given to build, as fast as possible, new Jewish neighbourhoods in the newly occupied territory of East Jerusalem, beyond the internationally recognised Green Line (Figure 3.10). Urban policies and planning were used as tools to achieve this political aim. Today, the landscape of Jerusalem is a series of physically autonomous Jewish residential enclaves; connected and structured by

arterial roads that fragment and disconnect Palestinian villages and neighbourhoods (Pullan, 2009; Pullan et al., 2007).

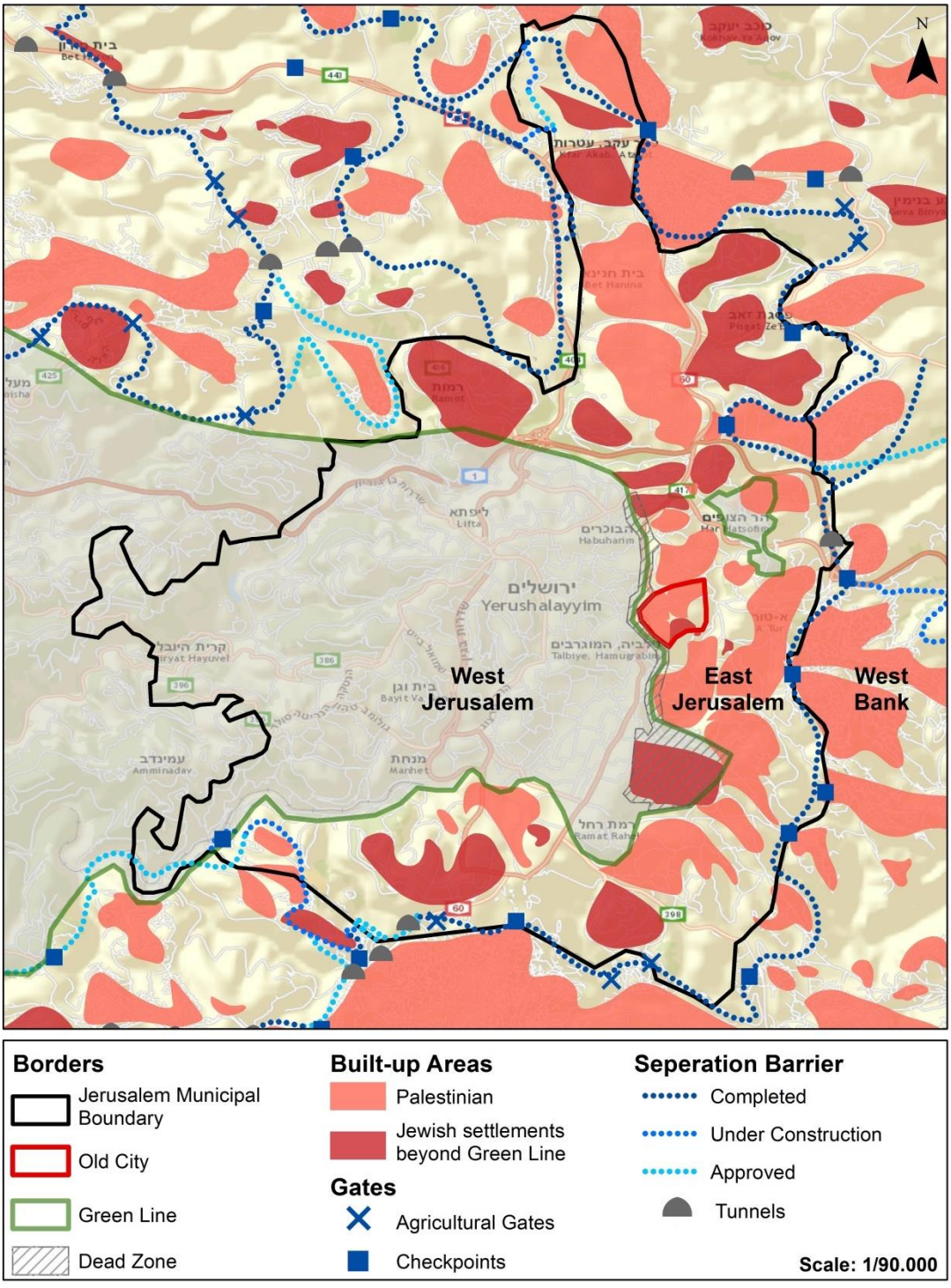

Figure 3.10 : Physical appearance of the divided city, Jerusalem, 2012 (redrawn from Url-14 by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Bypass roads are used as separation barriers, to block the unwanted and deprived scenery of the Arab neighbourhoods which are not provided the necessary

infrastructural elements to sustain a high quality of life (Pullan et al., 2007). This has caused an automobile dominated city. On the other hand, there is no investment to improve the connectivity of Palestinians by the road network (Pullan, 2009). As a result of strict development rights, housing in Palestinian neighbourhoods became twice as dense of the Jewish neighbourhoods (Url-14).

With the Security Fence, the patchwork of settlements and villages across the city is once more divided with a concrete wall. But as Pullan (2009) emphasises, separation barrier is not the cause of this situation but rather a reflection of it. The completion of the wall will dramatically alter the urban configuration of Jerusalem. As mentioned above, the wall will include and exclude several Jewish and Arab neighbourhoods respectively, inside or outside the city. This will leave a significant proportion of individuals without municipal services, and in case of annexations from the West Bank, will cause further political disputes which can cause violent outcomes.

3.3.3 Berlin

History of division[1]

Berlin was separated between the Allied powers; British, American, French and Russian after the Second World War. While the rest of the country was divided into four zones of occupation, Berlin, as the seat of the Allied Control Council and probable capital of an eventually united Germany, was excluded from all the zones and put under a separate four-power regime (Robinson, 1953). The city was divided into West (UK, USA, and France) and East (Soviet Union) sectors. West Berlin was an exclave in Soviet territory, with road, air and rail connections to West Germany (Figure 3.11).

In 1948, tension between Allies and the Soviet Union accelerated and caused the City Council, which managed the city as a unity, to disintegrate. A separate council was set up in the East, claiming to be the only legitimate body in Berlin (Elkins et al., 1988). The relationship between the two sides deteriorated after the Berlin Blockade of 1948-1949. This culminated in the formation of two rival states; in Western Germany the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), comprising the American, British, and French Zones, and in Eastern Germany the German Democratic Republic (GDR), comprising

[1] Berlin is different from other divided cities examined in this research because it was not divided between two different subculture groups, but between its own people who belonged to a single culture. This is why this subtitle is not headed "Settlement History of Subculture Groups" like other case studies presented in this research.

the Soviet Zone. GDR declared East Berlin as its capital, while FRG carried its capital city to Bonn. After this point, hostility between the two sides of Germany continued to grow. The internal administrative border was transformed into an international one, as the Soviet Union had always claimed it to be.

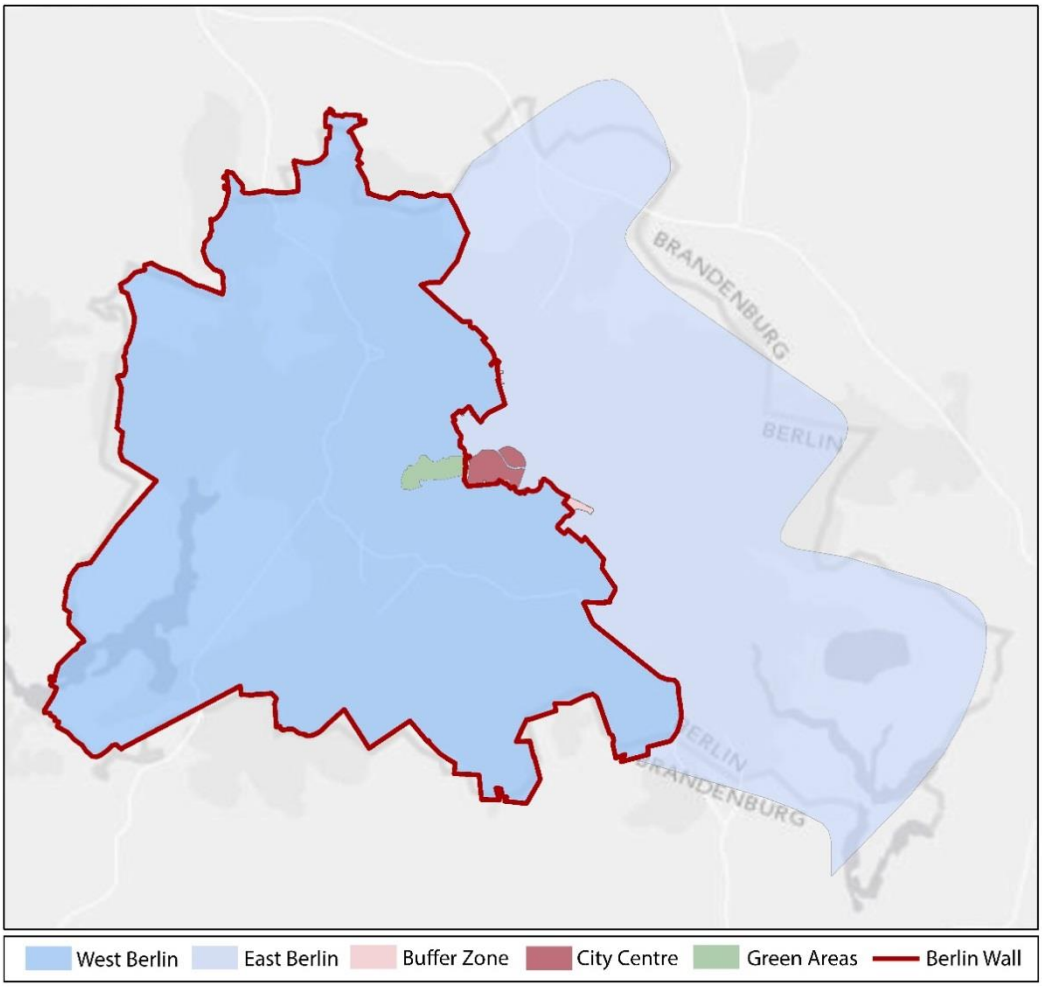

Figure 3.11 : Berlin and Berlin Wall during division, 1961-1989 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Even during the blockade, Berliners could freely pass from one part of the city to the other (Elkins et al., 1988). Big numbers of people were working on one side while living on the other. So despite the political division, there was no physical division until 1961. But the sealing off of the border was a gradual process which first appeared in 1952. GDR was approaching an economic collapse, and people of the East were trying to escape the negativities by fleeing to West Berlin at a rate of 1000 people a day (Elkins et al., 1988). The emigrants tended to be young and well-educated, leading to a brain-drain feared by East Germany. In 1961, to restrict movement, The Berlin Wall was erected and armed by military and police forces of the GDR. On two sides

of Berlin, there was mutual non-recognition and ideological conflict; the two sides claimed to be the only legitimate successor of the former Berlin.

Relationship among the two sides started to cool off in 1980s with agreements on trade, culture, land, emigration, infrastructure and ecological problems (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1999). This eventually led to the removal of the wall in 1989.

The fall of Berlin Wall is generally seen as the end of the Cold War and disintegration of eastern European countries from the Soviet Union (Loeb, 2006). In November 1989, border crossings to FDR and West Berlin were opened, and millions of East Germans passed to the other side. The destruction of the wall started rapidly and works to unite the city socially, physically, economically and politically has up to day carried on.

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding division

Due to ideological differences between Capitalist and Socialist regimes, planning discourses evolved differently during the years of division. Yet, similarities can be observed as well. In the first years of division until 1950s, both sides were mainly concerned with clearing the rubbles of war and reconstruction. Then came the process of mega housing projects, usually implemented on the outskirts of Berlin in both sides. In the last phase, both authorities were more concerned with conservation efforts in city centres.

In the East, planning and implementation were centralized at the state level. Urban construction was formulated in 1950s with the 'Sixteen Principles' (Von Beyme, 1990; Elkins et al., 1988). Some principles, like limitation on growth of the city and support for the construction of skyscrapers, were consistent with western modernists' planning ideologies (Von Beyme, 1990).

In the West, the main instrument that guided development was the land-use plan (FNP) – and still is. Created by the administrative department responsible for city planning and approved by the city Senate, it contrasts with the East's centralized decision-making and implementation processes. The FNPs were made "as if no sector boundary existed, and as if the city planning office had not been divided in 1950, the plans for the central area stretched eastwards to include the historic inner city" (Elkins et al., 1988). The context of the surrounding GDR was included in pale grey, and major routes that would be reconnected following reunification were indicated by dashes in

a light tone (Loeb, 2006). Construction that would impede a future reunification was not permitted. Contrarily, plans of the Eastern side showed no trace of West Berlin.

After the Wall fell, work began immediately regarding following aspects:

- Physical reunification: Reconnecting East and West in terms of infrastructure and spatial organisation. Issues like housing conditions, green spaces etc., and establishing equal living standards between inhabitants of both parts of the city (Loeb, 2006).
- The capital: The re-establishment of Berlin as the capital of a reunified Germany demanded central functions of a capital to be revitalised. This meant new construction as well as renovation.
- Showcase Berlin: To construct an image; international investment had to be redirected to Berlin to create a competitive, global city.

The main doctrine which shaped planning processes after reunification came to be identified as 'Critical Reconstruction'. International Building Exhibition held right after the fall of the wall emphasised this approach to planning; "a critical re-appropriation of the past's particular urban virtues" (Murray, 2003). The emphasis was given top pre-1914 history (Marcuse, 1998). Objectives of planning were shaped according to historical claims. There are some scholars who do not find this approach fulfilling (Nasr, 1996). The urban environment after reunification did not shelter great historical artefacts and was rather an empty plate; anything could be done in these vacant lands. The most criticized development in this respect is the demolishment of GDR Palace of Republic in 2008 to restore the former Hohenzollern Palace which stood in this site before division.

A coordinating committee was designated (Specialist Group on Space near the Border), composed of relevant district planning officers including a balanced participation from the East and West, to delegate planning studies (Loeb, 2006). Presence of the Wall was acknowledged in all the plans that were created after reunification. Main consideration was to preserve the memory of the wall; by locating landmarks; leaving walkways and bicycle paths along the border strip; and preventing temporary uses along the border zone (Figure 3.12).

Figure 3.12 : (a) East Side Gallery, preserved 1.3 km-long section of the wall; (b) a preserved sign post at Checkpoint Charlie; (c) A watchtower; (d) A sign showing the former route of the wall (G. Caner photograph archives).

Berlin planning activity has since been focused on a number of large projects which are centred in the inner city. These projects have generated criticism for several respects, such as giving way to inside deals and giveaway of lands. Furthermore, according to Marcuse (1998) "the private market decides what will be built; only the form of the buildings is open to discussion" (p. 333). Potsdamer Platz is a good example in this respect. Despite the criticisms that this segmented approach receives; Nasr (1996) suggests that competition and diversity of different zones, designed by differing approaches, gives vitality to urban development and reduces its vulnerability.

However, according to Silver (2010b) the economic deterioration of East Berliners after the fall of the wall, due to the closing down of Socialist government institutions and factories, carries on. Her conclusions are that the former citizens of the GDR are poorly integrated in the united Germany: "In 1991, there were already signs of public disappointment with unification. Some easterners soon perceived the unification process as an imposed, almost authoritarian exertion of external control like the one faced during the GDR years" (Silver, 2010b, p. 176).

The fact that East Berlin remained underdeveloped with respect to West Berlin caused East Berlin to receive more investments after reunification. As a result, an unequal and unbalanced approach appeared, causing distrust to planning processes. Further, determination of priorities and problem definitions remained insufficient and caused waste of resources as well as a lack to meet expectations.

Physical pattern of division

Even before the erection of the wall, interaction between the two sides was steadily declining. Immediately after 1961, roads were torn apart; barbed-wire barriers were erected; rail systems were separated (Figure 3.13). It was not only the wall in between two halves of the city, but also a full defence depth with alarmed wires, dogs, watch-towers etc. (Elkins et al., 1988). In order to erect the wall, buildings were demolished along its route, usually entailing a single street of structures, but sometimes, encompassing entire blocks (Loeb, 2006). Apart from the border zone, the differing political, economic and social systems of East and West also made their impact on urban fabric in the two halves of Berlin. The two cities developed along different ideological lines.

The urban development pattern of East Berlin was a radial concentric one, while in the West; this model was modified with a linear, band development (Schwedler, 2000; Elkins et al., 1988) in a poly-centric manner.

In West Berlin, urban development opportunities were restricted due to limited available land. Therefore, in the first phases of division, during 1950s, reconstruction projects were implemented in the built-up area. But the growing demand for housing was dealt with construction of massive, high density housing areas on the outskirts of the city in 1960s and 1970s. These projects contributed to a marked centrifugal movement (Elkins et al., 1988). Even though the Eastern sector did not have an urban

expansion problem, lack of funds and building material, combined with strict planning policies helped to contain the urban sprawl. There were also major urban extensions but consequently, both halves of the city evolved compactly.

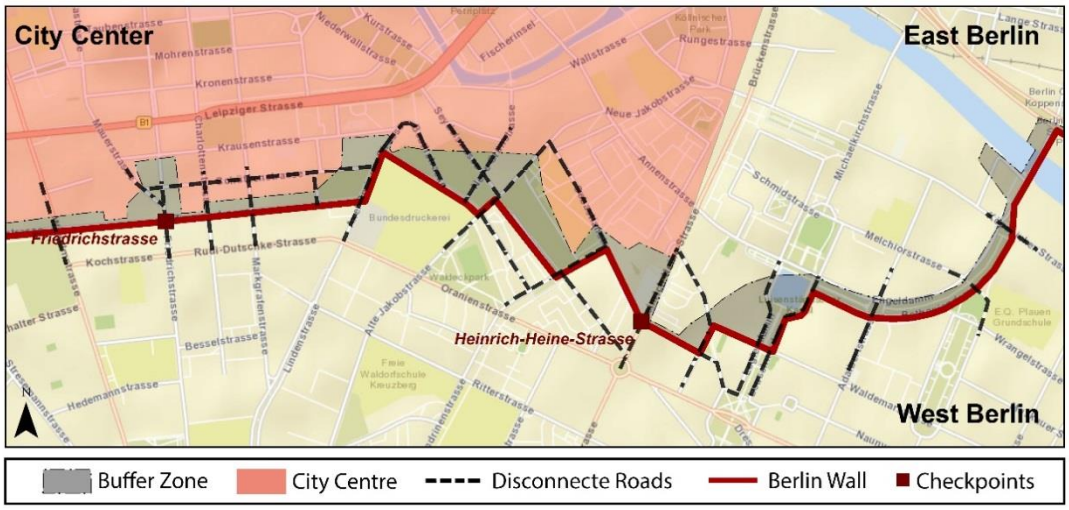

Figure 3.13 : Disconnected roads in the city centre during division, Berlin, 1961-1989 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

With the wall cutting through the centre of Greater Berlin, the urban core was abandoned. Especially some areas which had extensive war damage along the border were cleared and remained undeveloped, specifically on the GDR side. Industrial areas were more likely to become brown fields because; (1) large industrial developments were leaving West Berlin due to political insecurity, and similarly, (2) factories of GDR were dating due to late coming modernization of East Berlin.

The historical city centre (*Mitte*) and the CBD on the north-east axis (*Friedriechstrasse*) remained in the East (Figure 3.14). But this commercial axis was treated as any other street in anti-market GDR, and the CBD was further developed in *Alexanderplatz*. West Berlin had to develop a new CBD around the Zoo rail station which was already a secondary commercial centre before division with shopping and entertainment functions. The Eastern centre had a low-density city centre with mixed use (in accordance with Socialist perspectives), while the West had multi-functional, high density city-centre.

East Berlin was the showcase of GDR. It had the advantages and central functions of a capital. It housed all government institutions, top party bureaucracies, headquarters of industrial conglomerates and embassies (Ellger, 1992). In FRG, the capital was moved to Bonn, giving a disadvantageous position to West Berlin in this respect.

During the years of division a hierarchy of central places developed in West Berlin (Ellger, 1992), making this part of the city polycentric.

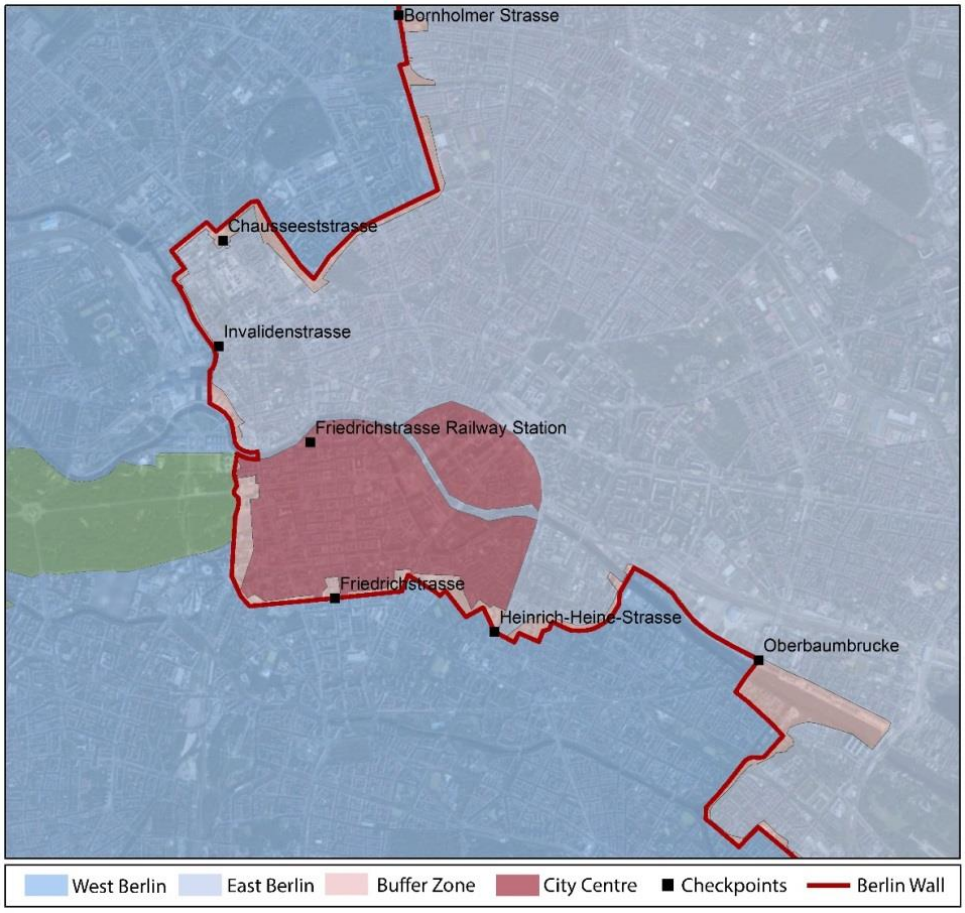

Figure 3.14 : Berlin city centre during division: 1961-1989 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014)

The dual landscape of the city was accentuated by infrastructural dissociations. Only the sewage treatment plant in East Berlin served for both parts of the city. Most severely affected was the transportation network, which was split up and developed in different directions. Traffic played a smaller role in the GDR than the West; the huge magisterial roads were sufficient (Von Beyme, 1990).

After reunification, the city resembles a whole but with inescapable urban consequences of division which occurred only 20 years ago, for approximately 45 years. As explained above, current planning approaches and urban policies are not ignoring the fact that the city was once divided, and in some cases embracing it in order to turn it to its own advantage.

A report developed in 2000 by the City Development Office gives details on certain developments which occurred after reunification in the area of the Wall:

> By far the largest amount of freed land was devoted to green spaces and recreational areas (38%), while streets account for the second largest (25%). Buildings account for 20% of the new land area, while the rest is part of the canal and river (11%) or mass-transit (6%) systems. (quoted in Loeb, 2006, p. 80)

Berlin is a once divided city but today, it is gaining reputation as a multicultural city. A variety of different ethnic minorities (Turks being the major group) exist within the city. Urban policies are now faced with integration of not only the two parts of the city, but also the immigrant populations. Global processes like re-urbanization and regeneration are affecting central neighbourhoods of the city like Kreuzberg, as in NYC and London. The relative success of Berlin among other divided cities of this research can be attributed to its pre-division characteristics. Berlin was divided by superpowers (top-down rather than bottom-up), between its own citizens who belong to the same ethnic group and share the same culture. Reunification in Berlin is, without a question, much simpler since social integration is achieved much easier.

3.3.4 Beirut

Settlement history of subculture groups

Beirut has always functioned as a multicultural city where religious groups coexisted, but lived in separate enclaves, with few mixed neighbourhoods (Silver, 2010a). During 19th century, population was mainly Sunni Muslim with a 25% Christian community, living on the east side of the old city walls which constituted a boundary against Muslims living on the south and west of it. Mixed neighbourhoods existed near the commercial areas of the city (in the west), but even here, sectarian consciousness was strong among the residents (Davie, 1994).

As in Belfast, starting from the mid-19th century, Beirut witnessed rapid urbanization. From 1870s up to the First World War, Maronite peasants were coming from the rural areas and settling on the eastern quarters with the Greek Orthodox community, making Christians the majority in the city (Khalaf, 1993). By the end of the 19th century, Beirut had grown into a cosmopolitan city. The 1911 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* reported that the population consisted of 36,000 Muslims, 77,000 Christians, 2,500 Jews, 400 Druze and 4,100 foreigners (Url-15).

During the first years of the French Mandate (1920-1943), Beirut flourished as the "Paris of the Mediterranean" (Nagel, 2002). There was constant influx of immigrants from neighbouring countries, who preferred to reside with their own 'kind'. The city doubled in size. Consequently, 'Lebanism' of the Christians was pitted against 'Arabism' of the Sunni Muslims, and during 1930s there were violent clashes between Christian and Muslim gangs (Khalaf, 1993). After independence in 1943, due to the Arab-Israeli war in 1948, another influx of populations, this time Palestinians, changed the face of Beirut's urban development. Dense shanty towns and refugee camps started to grow in Beirut's urban fringe. The main result was an increase in the Sunni Muslim population in the western part of Beirut.

The first civil war during 1956-1958 saw the first real demarcation line which divided the city along the former commercial axis; '*Rue de Damas*'- Damascus Road. The border followed the archaeological trace of the old city walls which once divided different religious sects of the city (Silver, 2010a). Barricades were constructed across main roads; accentuating territorial identities of Beirut's West-Muslim and East-Christian residents. While Sunni Muslims and Greek-Orthodox communities lived near the city centre, the later coming population of Shiites and Maronites lived in the suburbs (Davie, 1994). When these suburbs carried on expanding, they started to meet; inevitably this led to tensions along interface areas (Davie, 1994), which led to another civil war.

The central government proved itself incapable of restraining groups, and the conflict was allowed to run its course. Paramilitary organisations took over in their respective sides and the exact demarcation line established during the hostilities of 1956-1958 was reactivated in 1975 (Calame and Charleworth, 2009). The religious difference between the two sides blocked all movement between two sectors of the city. Religious affiliations hindered all other types of differences among the groups such as socio-economic levels, demography, ethnic origin, history.

In October 1990, the civil war in Lebanon finally ended, "more from exhaustion than from the clear victory of any one group" (Nagel, 2002, p. 721). Within a couple of months, the paramilitary organisations had been dissolved and disarmed, the Lebanese Army reunited and reorganised, and most importantly, the Green Line dismantled. The state was brought back to power, with equal representatives of Muslims and Christians in the National Assembly for the first time (Calame and Charlesworth, 2009). The

power-sharing mechanism of Beirut is unique to itself—*confessionalism*, distributing political and institutional power proportionately among religious communities.

However, division in Beirut still lingers; political reunification has not erased mental demarcation lines (Davie, 1994). The 19th century East-West divide is still there; neither of the two parts wants to pass to the other side. Davie explains this ongoing division as follows: "having lived in two different geographies with two different cultural ways of living, each evolved into individual ways" (Davie, 1994) and therefore developed their own social solidarity and self-sufficiency. The city is very much affected by the political situations in neighbouring countries because it is one of the most religiously diverse cities in the Middle East (with 18 religious sects). There are still clashes between different religious groups—Sunni pro- and anti-Syrian groups—as we have witnessed in May 2012 and June 2013 (Url-16 and Url-17).

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding division

In pre-war Beirut, institutional structures of planning had shortcomings (Salaam, 1993). Beirut was associated with the phenomena of primacy and over-urbanization (Tabet, 1993), mainly because of *laissez-faire* approaches to planning since the first years of independence gained in 1943.

Following the close of 1975-1976 events, the war seemed to be over and in 1977 a plan was commissioned "to rebuild the city centre along the lines of its traditional layout, to restore its centrality in the life of Beirut, and to improve its infrastructure" (Makdisi, 1997). But the war carried on, and in 1983 a private engineering firm owned by Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri took over the reconstruction project and commissioned a master plan. In 1984, another round of violence once again took hold of Beirut, interrupting the reconstruction process. However, in 1986, unofficial demolition was carried out in the downtown area that caused the destruction of a large proportion –80 percent—of the structures of the city centre (Makdisi, 1997).

Following the end of the war, reconstruction was mainly concentrated in Beirut's Central District (BCD) and became almost marked with Rafiq Hariri's reconstruction company *Solidere* (Höckel, 2007) established in 1994. This project is on-going and it promises social recovery through economic renewal (Fricke, 2005). An ultra-modern global cityscape is being created by futuristic urban landscaping (Larkin, 2010) and

this process is under great critique (see, for example, Khalaf and Khoury, 1993; Makdisi, 1997; Gavin and Maluf, 1996).

The necessity of a single private company was justified by two reasons: (1) The extreme fragmentation and entanglement of property rights; (2) The financial and administrative incapacity of the city to carry out the needed reconstruction at the time (Kassab, 1994).

Solidere's thirty year Master Plan (1994-2024) incorporates 472 acres (191 ha): a third of which is reclaimed land, 175 acres (71 ha) which are allocated for new developments such as a marina, hotels and global commerce, and only 54 acres (21 ha) of which are part of Beirut's original urban fabric (Url-18). Throughout the early 90s, Solidere systematically cleared the war damaged urban fabric, creating a *tabula rasa* at the heart of the city (Larkin, 2010; Nasr, 1996). Makdisi (1997) suggests that by 1993, as much as 80% of all the structures in the downtown were damaged beyond repair, yet only a third of this destruction was war-inflicted. This fact coupled with displacement and dispossession of an estimated 2600 families, owners and tenants (Larkin, 2010) has generated considerable unease in public, academic and civic realms.

The critical discourses against the process are as follows:

- Using state resources to transform the central city into an island for the rich, while most of the country remains underdeveloped and segmented due to economic inequalities and sectarian divides (Makdisi, 1997; Kassab, 1994). Furthermore, public services of less economic value—such as public transport or social housing—are not included in the plan (Höckel, 2007).
- Shaping public space by private enterprise marginalises the State from planning process and raises questions about public wellbeing (Kassab, 1994).
- The idea of a monopolistic power—being a private company— indicates that this is a fragile project. The absence of competitive efficiency creates fear (Nasr, 1996).
- Discontinuity from historical bonds challenges Beirut's cultural and historical memory (Larkin, 2010; Fricke, 2005).

A concerted effort has been made to address the critical discourses. A major feature is the conservation of archaeological findings, some of which remain in their present locations, and others which will be relocated to an archaeological park. Since 2007, the economy has grown almost 9 percent annually (Silver, 2010). Nevertheless, the

modern infrastructure of the downtown contrasts with the persistent penury of the refugee camps and slums. The city is still ethnically divided.

Physical pattern of division

With the start of the civil war, in 1975, downtown Beirut had become a battleground patrolled by snipers nesting in high-rise hotels (Silver, 2010a). Streets were widened or narrowed according to exposure to snipers. Infrastructure systems were severely damaged. Commercial and civic buildings, formerly the scene of inter-communal activities and social interaction, were transformed into militia headquarters (Fricke, 2005).

West Beirut's mixed areas continued to function as such in the first years of civil war, while East Beirut was rendered almost exclusively Christian (Figures 3.15 and 3.16). With 1978 Israeli attack, Shiite population of South Lebanon moved northwards; and slowly filtered into West Beirut. With these population transfers, mixed areas disappeared. Furthermore, Shiite penetration to West Beirut caused fractions among the Muslim population (Hezbollah, Druze etc.). The city was spatially fragmented into militia-controlled 'mini-states', which gradually polarized into two camps (Silver, 2010a). Each of these subgroups, especially in East Beirut marked their territory by setting up check-points, drawing graffiti, and building other visible or invisible boundaries (Davie, 1994). Yahya (1993) describes how violence and the deterioration of already inadequate services prompted Beirutis to create self-sufficient neighbourhoods and apartment blocks. These localized units assumed responsibility for generating electric power, providing housing, and safety for their inhabitants.

During the first phase of the war, because much of the hostilities were centred on the city and its suburbs, Beirut experienced an outflow of people from its core, resulting in a process of 'ruralisation' (Tabet, 1993). These population movements escalated the slums, squatter settlements and informal high-rise complexes on the outskirts of the city, resulting in ribbon developments along beaches on the south and north of Beirut. Christians were moving away from the city centre altogether (to the northern coast), and their vacated residences were targets for dislocated refugees and homeless (Nagel, 2002; Tabet, 1993). As a result, Beirut's primacy in Lebanon as the capital city was dismantled and its functions and services were decentralized to adjoining suburban or rural areas (Khalaf, 1993).

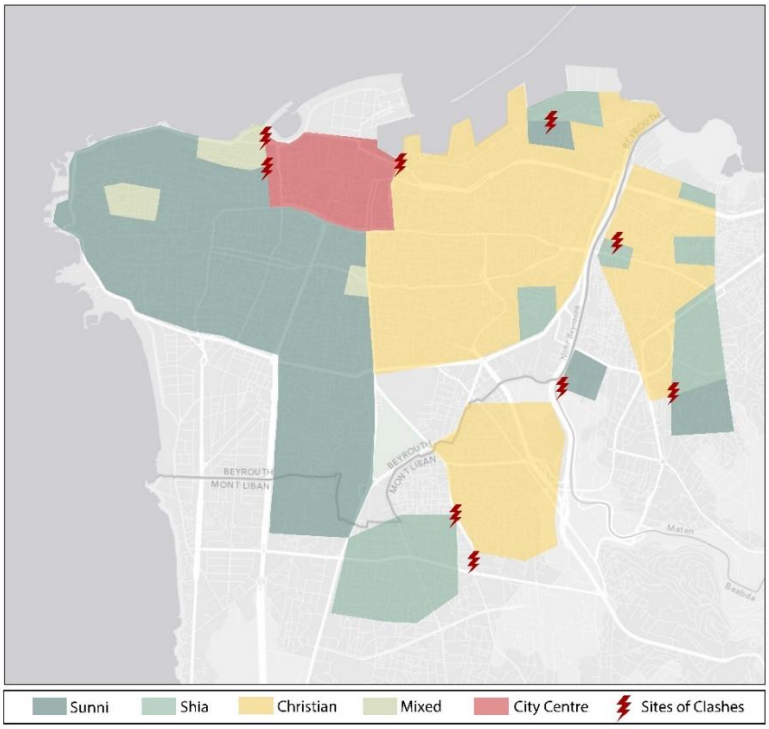

Figure 3.15 : Physical patterns of subculture groups before division, Beirut (redrawn from Chami, 2013 by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

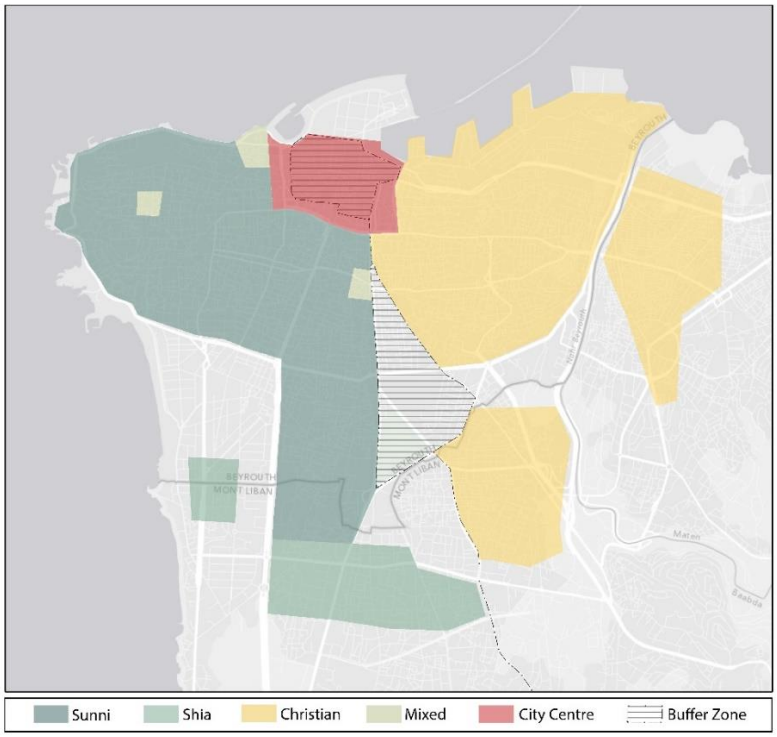

Figure 3.16 : Physical patterns of subculture groups during division, Beirut, 1975-1990 (redrawn from Chami, 2013 by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

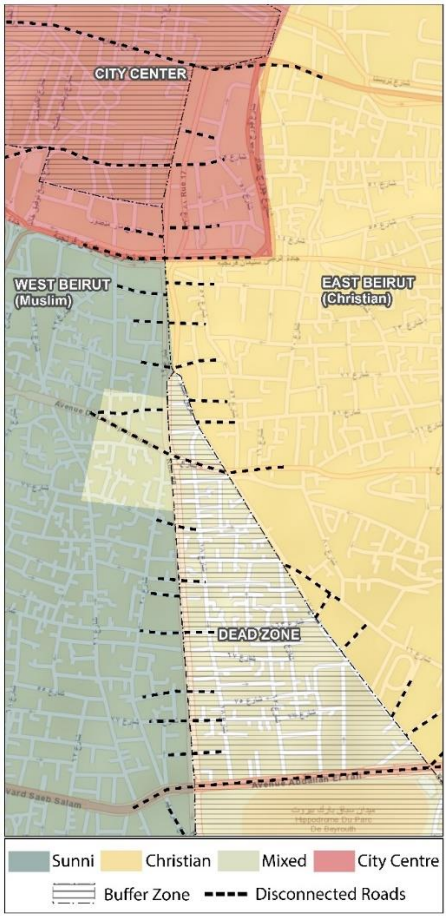

Figure 3.17 : Disconnected roads during division, Beirut, 1974-1990 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

With the end of the civil war, the Green Line was dismantled. All roads were reopened, de-mined and cleared. The militias were weakened and their leaders were discredited; all exterior aspects of the militias were removed. One fourth of Beirut's housing units were damaged or demolished, some having been bulldozed to allow movement of military vehicles, and half the population had temporarily or permanently left their homes.

As described in the preceding section, the master plan prepared by Solidere only deals with the central district. It is a big question how long this limited scope of planning can sustain the wholeness of the city, in terms of both physical appearance and social integration. The planning process acts indifferent to rest of the city. As in Berlin and Belfast, Beirut is being showcased via redevelopment of the city centre in order to combat the image of the city at war and attract investments to once more earn the label "Paris of the Mediterranean".

3.3.5 Evaluation of divided cities

The analysis of DCs was carried out to evaluate certain assumptions and answer specific research questions that were put forward at the introduction of this thesis;

- The consequences of division and the motives behind supporting the city to function as a whole;
- The role and effect of urban policy and planning during processes of division / reunification that support or prevent division;
- Whether the unique history and distinct structure of each city and their subcultural groups have some commonalities in so far to point lessons for Nicosia.

Settlement history of subculture groups

- Belfast is particularly unique among case studies in that it was not divided by a war, but a colonisation process. This caused internal concentration of each group, and therefore the conflict grew from within the social organism. This is the main reason why Belfast's division process took longer than the rest, and why division still lingers.

- Belfast, Jerusalem and Beirut share a common history as colonies. In these cities, the colonisers 'compartmentalised' their conquered territory by regulating social and spatial configurations in their own interests (Carment, 2007; Sandercock, 2000a, 2000b). However, (with the exception of Belfast), cleavages existed in these communities before the colonisers arrived. Even though compartmentalisation was done in the name of preventing conflict, it furthered tensions since it was not a deep-rooted solution but instead a 'divide and rule' policy. Even when the colonisers left, these divisions remained.

- Another commonality among these three cities is that they were all divided due to internal strife and civil wars after they gained independence. What this implies is bottom-up conflict. However the involvement of foreign governments for strategic, political or national interests has had triggering effects.

Table 3.9 : Comparison of settlement histories of subculture groups.

City	*History of Division & Reunification*	*Historical Settlement Patterns*
Belfast	British colony (16th century to 1921) - Independence of Ireland, partitioning of the country (1921) - The Troubles (1960-1998). - Good Friday Agreement (1998).	- Protestants in the walls, Catholics outside them (17th century) - Formation of enclaves; Falls and Shankill as working class settlements (19th century-today). - Peace Walls at interfaces all around the city (1969-today)
Jerusalem	British colony (1920-1948) - First Zionist settlement in 1882. - Formally divided in 1949. - Forcibly reunited in 1967. - Forcibly re-divided by the security fence since 2002.	- From city of quarters to ethnic enclaves. - West occupied by Jews, East by Arabs during years of division. - Today, Israeli settlements are totally independent from Palestinian ones by the security fence and roads.
Berlin	International War (WWII) - Forcibly divided among four superpowers after WWII. - Berlin Wall erected in 1961. - Reunited in 1989.	- West occupied by FRG, East by GDR. - After the erection of the Berlin Wall, two totally sealed parts appeared. - The city is reunified and the relations among the two parts are strengthened.
Beirut	French colony (1920-1943) - Constant influx of immigrants from neighbouring countries started to change the demographic composition and caused tensions. - Divided in 1975. - Reunited in 1990.	- Predominantly, Christians lived on the east and Muslims on the west. Mixed neighbourhoods existed. - West and East became homogeneous during years of division. - The city remains divided outside the BCD.

- Berlin is distinct from its counterparts in this respect. Berlin's residents did not belong to different subcultures; they were members of a single culture who were divided due to an international war. Its partitioning was due to a conflict among political leaders, culminating in a top-down conflict.
- Even though all four cities can be considered to be reunified, we observed that they are all still divided to some extent.
- Unique histories of each city have had different materialisations of division on the ground:
  - Belfast became hyper-segregated; never divided through the middle with a single line but instead in parts where interactions were most possible between the two subculture groups. This is why division in Belfast still lingers; because this type of division is less prohibitive for the city to function as a whole. This resembles segregation of MCs.

- Jerusalem was divided through the middle with a Green Line, reunited forcefully as a result of a war, only to be re-divided again by the Israeli government, due to claims of security, with a security fence.
- Berlin was divided for 30 years and reunited relatively successfully with respect to other cities examined.
- Beirut's division was never a stable situation; the city was always in war and it was not governed by a political body throughout its 25 years of division. The city has reunified and economically developed. But not socially, since even today, there is sporadic conflict. The fragility of the situation is due to the fact that overcoming division is not the priority of the government. Instead, the main aim is to market Beirut as a normal city by investing to its centre.

Urban policies and planning approaches regarding division

The first evaluation regarding urban policies and planning approaches can be made by taking the years of division in to account. Firstly, division has deliberately been overlooked in planning processes by East Berlin and Belfast, while in Jerusalem, planning was/is used as a tool to divide a city even further. In the case of Beirut, on the other hand, planning was out of question since the city was in total chaos.

Secondly, during division, the two sides of the divide develop according to different planning principles. For instance, in Berlin, the East acknowledged the 16 Principles, while the West developed according to FNPs. On the other hand, the absence of planning due to either civil war (Beirut, Jerusalem) or ineffective planning authorities (Belfast, Beirut, East Jerusalem) cause different development patterns to occur in two sides of the city.

Consequently, in cities where division has been prolonged, ignoring the existence of the dividing line had dramatic affects after reunification as can be evidenced in Berlin and Beirut. Today, this is the main reason why physical integration is still a problem in these cities. However, it is not only physical integration that raises issues. To plan a city that was once planned by two bodies becomes a challenge after reunification. Rapprochement turns into a necessity and the question of public interest is among the most debated issues in divided societies. If the process of planning is conducted by a private institution (like Solidere in Beirut) criticism is inevitable. Even if planning is

performed by government institutions, both sides may not benefit as equals (as it is in Jerusalem today). A seemingly simple procedure in a 'normal city', like the addition of a bus line, can become problematic in a divided city.

Berlin and Beirut are the two cities which have reunified while Jerusalem and Belfast remain divided. Therefore, it is important to evaluate contemporary planning processes of all cities to observe how they handle either reunification or division. In Table 3.10 results have been drawn from current planning approaches of each city in order to evaluate how they cope with urban consequences of division today.

Table 3.10 : Comparison of current urban policies and planning approaches.

City	*Planning System*	*Approach*	*Interventions*
Belfast	Area redevelopment	Engagement through centralized planning / Neutral / Technocratic	New quarters in the city (i.e. Titanic Quarter)
Jerusalem	Urban development strategies	Engagement through centralized planning / Avoidance / Technocratic / Partisan	Metropolitan expansion / Separation
Berlin	Area reconstruction	Engagement through collaborative planning	New quarters in the city (i.e. Potsdamer Platz)
Beirut	Urban redevelopment	Engagement through privatization	Beirut Central District

- Indifference of planning to specific problems faced by divided cities, or in Bollens' (2007) words, neutral planning, can promote divisions in the city. Belfast is a good example for this. Even though measures of equity have been strategized in Belfast after the Good Friday Agreement, not referring to root causes of division did not help much in eliminating differences. Planners engage through centralized planning institutes by neutralising themselves from the divided community. Belfast develops area redevelopment schemes which introduces new quarters to the city, or in Gaffikin et al.'s words (2008), "cosmopolitan spaces", to showcase the city.

- The most postulated example of how planning can be used as a tool in divided cities is Jerusalem. Here, planning is used to reshape the urban environment according to the dominant society's norms and principles which is the definition of partisan planning (Bollens, 2007). Planners' engagement to the processes is through centralised planning by avoiding realities using their technical lenses, which is similar to Belfast. The aim of urban development

strategies is to achieve metropolitan expansion of Jewish settlements via separation.

- Berlin, by acknowledging Berlin Wall's existence, seems to be a step further than Belfast in showcasing the city. The aim to re-build the city with an image dating to pre-war period (where commonalities could be found more easily) has been chosen for raising the competitiveness of the city. This is why area reconstructions to create new quarters in the city are carried out. Difference of Berlin is that it uses the Wall as an advantage, for tourism example. On the other hand, even though engagement is done via collaboration, investing more in East Berlin caused distrust to authorities.
- Beirut's approach to engage through privatisation is unique. The aim is to redevelop the city centre (BCD) in order to gain international competitiveness. The fact that Beirut ignores its divided past is in contrast with Berlin but parallel to Belfast.

In conclusion, the tendency of all case studies to showcase their cities as competitive and global is in line with what other cities around the world are doing today. Divided cities want to show the world that they are not different and that they are also a part of globalisation. This approach pulls them away from the realities of that they are (or once were) divided.

Physical pattern of division

While evaluating physical patterning of division, that fact that Belfast was never divided through the middle in the known sense, but rather remains in a hyper-segregated structure should be in mind. Even though the city of Jerusalem was reunified, its current situation represents a re-division. These circumstances render Berlin and Beirut the only reunified case-studies of this thesis. The following should be conceptualised along these facts.

- All the case studies were divided through the heart of the city, except for Belfast, where division is scattered all around the city. Furthermore, peace walls in Belfast are not armed. Since wars are the main reason of division in other cities, their borders carried a military presence.

- When the city is divided from the middle, the two halves have restricted options for growth. The traditional pattern of urban sprawl is hindered and each side could only advance on available routes. Different developmental patterns are observed; i.e. West Berlin had a hierarchy of centres, East Berlin continued to grow concentrically.
- Deterioration of the buildings near the border was not only because of war damage, but also due to population exchanges. In Berlin, a further consequence has been derelict industrial buildings due to lack of finance (East Berlin) or incompetence (West Berlin).
- In war-torn cities of Berlin, Beirut and Jerusalem, buildings were demolished to give way to military border zones. This caused vacant lands to proliferate near border zones after reunification.
- Especially in Belfast but also in reunified Jerusalem, urban fabric is dominated by roads. In Jerusalem, new road projects are used as tools to accentuate existing divisions, and in Belfast, although having the same effect, the aim is to attract new investments.
- The most visual artefacts of division are territorial markers used to exert prominence on people's perception and behaviour. Belfast and Jerusalem, which are not 'reunified', are fruitful areas for the study of artefacts of division. Murals, flags, curb stones are only some elements reflecting territorial claims through the usage of urban infrastructures.
- The fact that divided cities are all capitals of their nations is attention-seeking. Capital cities are where the power and ideology of a nation is most apparent. They shelter the values and cultures of a nation intensely. Hence, capitals were where division was mostly visible. They become places where everyday consequences of division are mostly felt and lived. This proves the importance of space in conflicts.
- A further consequence of division in war-torn cities has been the changing functions of urban space:
    - The central functions of the urban core were lost; especially due to extensive war damage (in Beirut and Berlin).
    - Commercial areas moved away from the dividing line and bi-polarised.

- The primacy of Berlin, Beirut and Jerusalem as capitals faded away during years of division, due to political instability.
- Residential zones in all the cities examined became ethnically homogenised due to population movements and displacements.

- Intersection points of residential zones were most vulnerable areas to conflict, and either barricades were erected (as in the case of Belfast peace lines), or they turned into derelict sites. People who had the opportunity, moved out of these areas for safer havens, and low status immigrants, refugees or homeless people occupied the empty houses. As a result, residential segregation coincided with socio-economic cleavages, further breaching divisions.

- The economies of all four cities suffered tremendously due to division. First, because all (except East Berlin and Belfast), lost their hinterland and became an 'end city'. Second, even though West Jerusalem and East Berlin were improved as the capital city, duplication of public facilities, services, transport systems and infrastructure meant enormous waste of resources.

- Bi-polarisation of CBDs and reconnection of urban functions were essential problems encountered after reunification, particularly in Berlin.

- Reunification in Berlin, Beirut and Jerusalem showed that it was easy to re-connect the infrastructure, but hard to reinstate a city which will function as a whole. All cases have reunified but none of them 'integrated' (except for Berlin to some extent). Social division remained in place in the functional continuity of the city, with its symbolic meanings and mental maps.

The results of the analysis show that in spite of differences among case studies, a common pattern of functional, structural and socio-economic urban consequences of division surface (Table 3.11). Whether the city is reunified or remains divided does not change the fact that these urban consequences once appeared (or is still there) in that city with regards to division. This does not mean that every urban consequence appears in every divided city. This is mainly due to the fact that each city produces unique consequences according to their political, socio-economic and physical transformations. However, it would not be wrong to assert that Table 3.11 presents the most probable outcomes of urban division.

Table 3.11 : Urban consequences of division in divided cities.

	Urban Consequences
Functional	* Declining central functions of the urban core. * Fading primacy of capital city administrative functions, losing decision making capacity and prestige of the city. * Formation of ethnically homogeneous, segregated residential areas, 'ethnic enclaves'. * Bi-polarization of commercial areas. * Duplication of urban functions (transportation, services etc.). * Changing and colliding functions of urban space. i.e. Former commercial areas turn into border zones devoid of activity. * Territorialisation, rendering certain areas to be functional only for certain parts of the population.
Structural	* Inefficient and restricted transportation network. * Dissociations in infrastructural systems. * Changing urban development patterns (i.e. concentric/polycentric etc.). * Road-dominated environment and minimised pedestrian network. * Proliferation of cul-de-sacs and vacant land, specifically in the city centre; while the city carries on to expand to its suburbs. * Presence of frontier landscape, waste of land in the heart of the city. * Deterioration of buildings. * Everyday artefacts of division which hinder daily life in cities.
Socio-economic	* Economic burdens both during division and after reunification. * Permanent and chronic fear among residents which does not fade with reunification, specifically after prolonged conflict. * Formation of demographically homogeneous zones. * Socio-economic divisions and ethnic divisions are intertwined; certain aspects of a group or suppression of one group by the other causes socio-economic differences between ethnic groups. * Appearance of deprived city districts; specifically near border zones.

3.4 Comparison: Divided versus Multicultural Cities

The pronounced importance of macro-scaled global processes is why it is much easier for MCs to retain their wholeness. "Globalisation […] has created a new global consciousness and new chosen communities of common interests and values that cut across national borders" (Legrain, 2007). Due to their 'global' character, MCs provide the necessary atmosphere for a great variety of cultures to live together. They shelter an international setting and a multicultural structure which makes it easier for different cultures to live together, with greater tolerance to one another. These cities nourish on diversity, and diversity nourishes in these cities. Economic interests are more pronounced for the immigrants, than their ethnic / national backgrounds and ideologies.

A further advantage of MCs can be explained in more physical terms. In MCs, since immigrants are not ideologically attached to urban areas in their receiving societies, they are less likely to lay territorial claims within the city. The newcomers tend to

congregate in certain parts of the city (Cypriots prefer to move to North London; Pakistanis and Indians choose to live in West London etc.), but this is either due to government policies (discriminatory in NYC and Paris; integrationist in Singapore) or immigrants' individual preferences (London). Not because they shelter ideological attachments or feelings of belonging as in divided cities. The residents of divided cities, on the other hand, maintain historical and traditional attachments to certain territories. They have neighbourhoods in the city which are predominantly occupied by only their subculture group (Shankill and Falls Roads referring to Catholics and Protestants respectively in Belfast; the formation of homogeneous religious neighbourhoods during division according to historical settlement patterns in Beirut and Jerusalem). Therefore, these groups perceive these specific urban areas as an element of their identity; as their 'spatial identity'. This causes space to gain a dominant role in the conflict and its management becomes very important.

To elaborate the role of planning in both types of cities, some significant commonalities can be drawn from Table 3.12. The table exhibits that certain planning approaches entail subculture groups to have certain physical appearances and relations. Main points which stand out can be summarised as follows:

- Neutral planning approaches experienced in NYC, Paris and Belfast; partisan planning in Jerusalem; and planning via privatisation seen in Beirut all produce relatively undesired physical consequences. Such as polarization and segmentation which cause alienation and interdependency among subculture groups. In other terms, NYC, Paris, Belfast, Berlin and Beirut treat issues directly or indirectly related to integration, economically. They remain indifferent to the needs and requirements of different cultures existing within their societies. NYC and Paris, approach to the subject by providing affordable housing. The others try to compete in the global market by showcasing themselves as 'normal' and 'undivided'. Neutrality to social requirements can cause polarisation, segmentation or alienation within the society.
- Jerusalem's planning approach to integration is not neutral but instead political. It takes the side of a single subculture, and instead of integration, seeks exclusion of unwanted parts and peoples of the city.

Table 3.12 : Comparison of divided and multicultural cities*.

	MULTICULTURAL CITIES				DIVIDED CITIES			
	NYC	**London**	**Paris**	**Singapore**	**Belfast**	**Jerusalem**	**Berlin**	**Beirut**
History of Settlement	Colony Globalisation	Decolonisation	Decolonisation	Colony Globalisation	Colony	Colony	International War	Colony
Historical settlement patterns	Discriminative policies	Individual preferences	Exclusionary housing policies	Integrationist housing policies	Predominantly lived in separate enclaves	Predominantly lived in separate enclaves	Single entity to total polarization to single entity	Predominantly lived in separate quarters
National Attitude*	Assimilationist to Pluralist (Diversity)	Pluralist (Cohesion)	Assimilationist (Single Identity)	Assimilationist (Integration)	Equity Schemes	Avoidance	Integrating East and West	Economic development
Planning System*	Neutral	Ethnically Conscious	Neutral	Ethnically Conscious	Neutral / Technical	Partisan / Technical	Collaborative	Privatization
Planning Approach*	Regards as economic	Meets local demands	Regards as economic	Aims integration	Area redevelopment	Urban development	Area reconstruction	Urban redevelopment
Interventions*	Affordable housing Regeneration	Strategic planning, equity schemes	Defines priority zones – areas of exception	Quotas: Ethnically mixed housing	New quarters in the city	Metropolitan expansion / separation	New quarters in the city	Beirut Central District
Physical Appearance	Segmented	Plural / Dispersed	Polarised	Plural / Integrated	Polarised	Polarised	Polarised (Today: Integrated)	Polarised (Today: Segmented)
Relations	Interdependent	Co-existent	Alienated	Co-existent	Interdependent	Alienated	Alienated (Today: Co-existent)	Alienated (Today: Interdependent)

** Urban policies and planning approaches are represented only for the current period of Divided Cities; not during division.*

- On the other hand, collaborative planning in Berlin and ethnically conscious planning approaches of London and Singapore lead to either dispersed or plural physical appearances, which orient subculture group relations in more desired routes, like integration and co-existence. These cities aim integration or cohesion. Difference between them lay in their national attitudes. In London, a pluralist attitude which supports local authorities to meet local demands is effective. While Berlin is in a similar vein to London regarding integration, Singapore's assimilationist stance aims to integrate its citizens forcefully rather than voluntarily.

- Singapore's utilisation of housing is using it as a tool for integration and nation-building. However, It is rather inaccurate to advocate that integrated residential neighbourhoods help create an integrated community, specifically if integration is done forcefully. Maybe not as powerful, but as in Jerusalem, planning becomes a political tool to exert government's ideologies on the urban residents.

- London stands out in this respect. It exercises equity schemes in certain aspects of planning and housing. This renders London's planning implementations more successful than other case studies in terms of integrating its diverse communities. Delivering local communities' needs generates feedback to planning procedures which render the implementations to be more in tune.

- The fact that Belfast was divided from entirely within the organism, with no war or any other intervention (other than colonisation) to the system, makes its reunification process much harder. This is why; planning in Belfast generally seems to favour its hyper-segregated structure. Even though equity schemes are proposed on the national level, they are not followed through in plan and policy-making processes

- Privatisation of planning in Beirut, claiming to accomplish social recovery via economic development, has proven to be successful only for the latter. Economic recovery of the city and the country as a whole cannot be ignored, but this approach could have provided to be more successful if economic recovery was supported by social and physical policies which included the whole of the city, instead of only the central district.

- In NYC, the fact that regeneration is not regarded as solely a physical intervention, but also as commercial and social, is rewarding since it helps counteract the prolonged deprivation of these areas.
- The fact that Jerusalem, Paris, and Singapore use planning policies as an effective tool to achieve certain aims is promising for this research, no matter what these aims are. It proves that planning can be more powerful than it is generally accredited to be.
- On the contrary to what is believed, approach to planning can actually never be neutral. Ignoring the existence of a reality does not make it go away. The French narrative to exclude certain areas on an economic basis is actually intertwined with ethnicity and subculture groups. Consciously or unconsciously disregarding this reality rather than acknowledging it causes bigger problems then it solves.

Table 3.12 reveals that London is the most successful city among case studies, followed by Singapore and Berlin. In the UK, integration is seen as engagement with other groups while preserving some distinctive cultural traits. It is evident that London offers this via the following;

- Dispersed subculture groups,
- who live in co-existence,
- in the context of nationally supported plural harmony and equity,
- where each individual can choose a place to live according to their own preferences,
- and where their expectations and wishes are taken into consideration and addressed with conscious policies (feedback loops),
- guided on the national level and implemented on the local level.

As proposed by Chadwick (1971), "maximum level of opportunities" are presented to subculture groups in order to allow for an organic development of multiculturalism. London is also a good example to prove that Alexander's (1977) view is accurate; that the existence and difference of subculture culture groups and their distribution should be supported.

As a conclusion, case studies show that Hall's (1973) notions on progressive factorisation and systematisation is illuminative to explain division in cities. Multicultural cities, NYC, London, Paris and Singapore can preserve their integrity—wholeness—due to the steady, independent state they achieve through both of these

processes taking place at the same time. Their parts are interconnected to each other and the urban system remains in balance due to, in Lozano's (1990) words, planning interventions that self-regulate or self-organise this structure, without complications that can be faced in DCs. In Steiss' (1974) terminology, new states can be integrated to the system in order to plan change, without hindrance. In addition, Singapore, London and Paris are highly centralised cities. This is another aspect of Hall's (1973) systems engineering approach where progressive centralisation causes one part of the system (in this case, the capitals), to emerge as the central and controlling agency.

The latter aspect of progressive centralisation also holds true in divided cities as it has been shown that all these cities were the capitals of their countries. However, when we look at the concurrence of progressive factorisation and systematisation, we observe that there is none; only factorisation processes are in action in DCs. The system changes from wholeness to independence either by disruptions from within (Belfast's two communities segregated from each other voluntarily; Beirut and Jerusalem were disrupted by civil wars) or from the outside (Berlin, international war). When the system is no longer integrated, the subsystems of the previous urban system, self-organise within themselves to turn into new systems and achieve a new steady state or biotic balance. One striking example of such self-organisation (among many others expressed in this chapter) can be given from Beirut, where self-sufficient mini-states were formed that assumed responsibility for generating electricity, providing housing and safety for their inhabitants. As we have observed, these subsystems never achieved to become fully self-sufficient, since they depended on their initial conditions of once being a singular unit.

Following reunification in Berlin and Beirut (as well as in Jerusalem and Belfast today, even though these two are still divided), we obtained evidence on Hall's (1973) notions about achieving wholeness. To exemplify, in Berlin; "existing parts of a system are strengthened" by reconnecting the disrupted transportation networks; "relations are developed among previously unrelated parts of a system" by freeing and re-functionalising the previously disconnected Buffer Zone; "new relations and parts are added to a system" by building new transportation networks to reconnect the east and west or new spaces like the Potsdamer Platz to revitalise the city centre.

These systematic conceptualisations are illuminative to understand division in cities and the following chapter will evaluate Nicosia with such an understanding.

4. CASE STUDY: NICOSIA

This chapter is devoted to determine the current state of Nicosia in terms of its history as a divided city. Research endorsed in previous chapters—literature review and comparative analysis—was aimed at providing a foundation for this genuine section. The first subsection gives a brief history of the city, illuminating the process of division. The second subsection delivers the analysis of urban division and planning in Nicosia. Nicosia is narrated with the same content of the comparative analysis case studies in order to enable effective comparison. However, in order to carry out a more detailed and unique analysis, a research which is composed of face-to-face interviews was conducted. The account of these interviews and their findings are discussed before moving on to the analysis.

4.1 Settlement History of Nicosia

Nicosia has a long history as a capital city, hosting as the seat of power for the Byzantines (330-1191), Lusignans (1192-1489), Venetians (1489-1571), Ottomans (1571-1878) and finally the British (1878-1960). Cyprus declared its independence from the British in 1960 but was left with an unsustainable constitution due to escalating tensions between two ethnic communities, which eventually gave way to conflict and physical separation in 1963. Today, the city is uniquely and concurrently the capital city of two opposing republics: The Republic of Cyprus (RoC) and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).

During British rule, the two communities were administered separately, with little change to the Ottoman's *millet* system (Kadıoğlu, 2010). First inter-communal strife erupted, between 1955 and 1959 when the GCs started their struggle for *Enosis* (unification with Greece), and the TCs reacted, with the aim of *Taksim* (claiming for division and unification with Turkey). The GCs' struggle against the British administration and the following conflict between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots is mainly attributed to the British administration's exploitation of interethnic differences (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1997, 1999; Loizos, 1988; Papadakis, 2006; Hocknell, 1998).

A barbed wire, 'Mason-Dixon Line' was erected in parts of Nicosia in 1956, resembling the first division of the city. Interethnic violence was taken a step further in 1958, with the issue of setting up separate municipalities. From this point onwards, TCs established separate municipal councils starting from test-area, Nicosia and later, moving on to the rest of the island (Markides, 1998).

Independence was gained in such troublesome circumstances in 1960. The legislative body consisted of a House of Representatives and two independent Communal Chambers, each to exert power in their respective communities regarding religious, educational, and cultural issues (RoC Constitution, 1960). The president was to be a GC and the vice-president a TC, each with veto powers that were exercised frequently, rendering the government dysfunctional. A National Army could not be established, causing each side to have their own private armies (Bakshi, 2012).

In December 1963, violence once more escalated in Nicosia. The period from 1963 to 1974 was a period of inter-communal conflict and sporadic violence. Turkish Cypriots, being the weaker side, suffered greater losses (Papadakis et al., 2006; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1997; Loizos, 1988). In 1964, UN Peace Keeping Forces landed on the island and separated the Turkish and Greek Cypriot militia; with respect to the 'Green Line' that was drawn in Nicosia (and which had already started to take shape on the ground with barbed wires, road blocks and other fortifications) by a British army officer in December 1963.

The division of Nicosia, essentially in place since 1956, became permanent with the military intervention of Turkey in 1974. This intervention took place after a coup, organised by the military junta government in Greece, against the President of RoC, Makarios, in order to install a pro-Enosis regime. Turkey reacted by taking hold of 37% of the island, from northern shores up to the Green Line, dividing the walled city of Nicosia into two. In 1983, the TC President, Rauf Dentaş, declared this territory as a sovereign republic, today only officially recognized by Turkey.

In 2004, a referendum was held on the island for a UN agreement plan (Annan Plan). Even though 65% of TCs said yes, the plan was rejected due to the no answer of 76% of the GCs. As a consequence, in a few weeks following the referendum, the RoC entered the EU representing the whole of the island. This was a shock for the TRNC,

because they were left outside, since the RoC claimed to be the sole representative of the island. The EU had now carried a land in conflict into its borders.

It was before the referendum that the borders between the two sides opened up with a gate in Kermia for the first time, in 2003. Following this, in 2008, the main commercial axis (*Ermou Street*) of old times was reopened, through the Lokmacı Gate. These openings were regarded as big steps taken in the name of reunification.

The following section gives brief description of how Nicosia and its physical form changed over time. One will inevitably observe that division is an entrenched part of this historical urban development.

4.1.1 The Lusignan City

According to Sir Harry Luke "the three hundred years during which […] [the Lusignan] dynasty ruled Cyprus, included the most brilliant epochs in the island's dramatic history. […] [W]holly out of proportion to its small size and population" (Luke, 1965). As a result of the island's role in medieval civilisation, Nicosia grows and gains prominence.

Figure 4.1 : (Left) Possible fortifications of Lusignans, Pedios River, and the Venetian Walls (redrawn from Atun and Doratlı, 2009); (Right) Buffer Zone and the City Walls today, Nicosia, 2014 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Lusignans are the first occupants of the city who fortify it (Figure 4.1). The walls were built to protect the city against an anticipated Ottoman attack (Alpar, 2001). The three tributaries of Pedios River influenced the development of the street pattern. Two out of eight gateways of the city were provided from the entrance and exit points of the river (Alpar, 2001, 2004).

The course of the river almost exactly coincides with the current division of Nicosia (Figure 4.1). As Papadakis asserts, "On medieval maps this was a river, a natural divide which much later turned into a human-made divide" (Papadakis, 2006, p. 1).

4.1.2 The Venetian City

For the Venetians, Cyprus was only a military occupation and a source of income (Jeffery, 1918). The Republic of Venice knew that eventually the Ottomans would attempt to conquest the island, since it was "the last outpost of Christianity in the Moslem East" (Luke, 1965).

Their military intensions were reified by the construction of a massive circular fortification in Nicosia, in 1571. One-third of Nicosia and all of its medieval walls were demolished, and the new city was consolidated within a diameter of approximately 1.5 kilometres (Zetter, 1985). The region around St. Sophia-Ayia Sophia (known today as Selimiye Mosque) was taken as the centre of the circle. The Venetian Walls are perfectly preserved to this day.

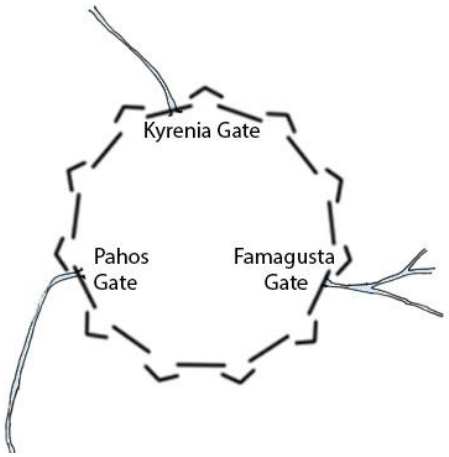

Figure 4.2 : The Venetian Walls, diverted riverbed and the three gates, Nicosia (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

The course of the Pedios River was diverted outside, into a newly built moat for protection reasons (Papadakis, 2006). Three gates were opened; one on the north leading to Kyrenia, one on the west leading to Paphos, and one on the east leading to Famagusta (Figure 4.2), each "closed at sunset and opened at sunrise" (Salvator, 1881, p. 4). These gates are still in place, providing access to the old city.

4.1.3 The Ottoman City

Kliot and Mansfeld (1997) righteously assert that the roots of the contemporary Cyprus problem originate from this period, when Turks were introduced to the island for the first time. Before the 16th century, the island had a Greek Orthodox population, apart from small Maronite and Armenian communities.

The city was not divided into districts in the usual sense, but according to different populations living in it (Salvator, 1881). This settlement pattern was mainly due to the *millets* system applied by the Ottoman Sultans. Millets system assured the Cypriot Orthodox community to practice their religion freely and recognized them as the supreme Christian denomination on the island (Luke, 1965).

A considerable number of Ottoman Turks immigrated to the island and became a permanent element of the population. The walled city of Nicosia was the administrative centre of the Ottomans. They settled on the northern half of the town around the Ottoman governor's palace—*Saray* (Figure 4.3). The Greek Cypriots lived in the southern half, where the Archbishop's Palace was situated. More precisely, Turkish population lived near Famagusta gate around the *Tahtakale Mosque* and between Kyrenia and Paphos gates, on the north of the old riverbed (Salvator, 1881). The Greeks on the other hand, chose to live around the Archbishop's Palace and *Ayia Sophia Church* (Salvator, 1881). The Armenians and Latins lived among the Turks around Paphos gate.

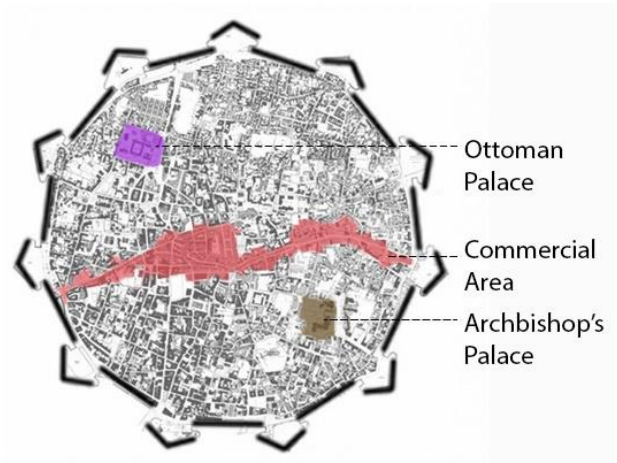

Figure 4.3 : Administrative separation of the walled city of Nicosia during the Ottoman period (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

At this point, it is important to emphasise that, in a historical perspective; the city has organically evolved as a divided one, with a Turkish north and a Greek south. Even

though mixed neighbourhoods existed, they were exceptions, and this was the norm throughout the island. The city consisted of twenty *mahalles* (neighbourhoods), each evolving around its own religious centre (Oktay, 2007).

It was in this period that the labyrinth of narrow streets, which characterises the walled city of Nicosia today, took shape (Zetter, 1985). The location of palaces, churches, and their relationship with the gates were taken into consideration for the patterning of the streets (Alpar, 2001). Even though the old riverbed was still not covered, its route, *Tripoli Lane*, was the backbone for commercial activities—*bazaars*. It was these riverbed streets with their bridges, where Turkish, Greek, and Armenian businesses existed, and where different communities came together. It is ironic that this part of the city, which was once the very foundation of urban life, falls right into the Buffer Zone today, or in other words, into the land where no man is allowed.

4.1.4 The British City

Cyprus fell into British hands after the Berlin Congress in 1878 and became a Crown Colony in 1925. Nicosia continued to be the capital of the Empire but was considered to be unhealthy and congested. Thus, the colonial administrative and residential areas were located outside the walled city. The city was extended to the south and west, outside the walls for the first time, along the main roads. The new city was linked to the old one by opening up of bridges and new gateways along the city wall. One example of such developments is the Limassol gate built in 1882, known as *Eleftheria Square* today, which eventually grew into a strong north-south commercial axis up to Kyrenia gate, the *Ledra Street*. The street still stands today, despite being divided in the middle with a checkpoint (Lokmacı/Ledra Checkpoint) that opened up in 2008.

However, while demonstrating urbanisation of Nicosia, Attalides (1981) points out that until 1930s, the walled city maintained the whole population. An English historian and traveller, W. Hepworth Dixon, gives a sound illustration of Nicosia and its appearance right after the Ottoman period. Dixon (1879), divides the circle of the walled city into four equal parts, taking Tripoli Lane (east-west axis) and, the later to become, Ledra Street (north-south axis), as lines of division. It should be emphasised that this division was a remnant of the Ottoman period:

- *Konak Quarter*; historically the district of the rulers (for the Lusignans, Venetians and Ottomans), lay on the north-west part of the walled city. It was the administrative centre, where also all public service offices were located.
- *Mosque Quarter*; covered the north-east part of the town, around Selimiye Mosque, where the Muslim people lived. It was the most secluded part of the city, accommodating important edifices of the Ottomans.
- *Levantine Quarter*; composed the south-west part of the walled city. It was a mixed neighbourhood, including a mongrel of different kinds of shops and artisans. It was also an entertainment district with hotels, dancing clubs, and pubs, mainly newly built by the British.
- *Cathedral Quarter*; the quarter of the Greek Orthodox population, which remained sacred through all periods in the island's history. The Archbishop's Palace was here, as well as the basilica of St. John.

Jeffery (1918) gives a more detailed presentation of Nicosia for the British period (Figure 4.4). From the 25 neighbourhoods existing within the walls; 14 were Muslim, 7 Orthodox, 2 Orthodox and Muslim (mixed), 1 Armenian and 1 Latin. Similar to Dixon (1879), Jeffery asserts that this mosaic had been shaped historically.

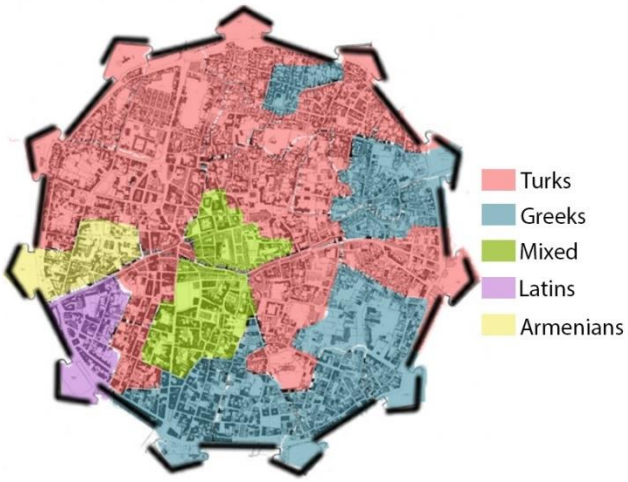

Figure 4.4 : Quarters of the British City according to subculture groups, Nicosia (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014 according to Jeffrey, 1918).

During the British period, the city was brought up to speed with the rest of the world. Sir Harry Luke (1965) gives a brief description on the improvements carried out by the British: streets were illuminated; new schools and hospitals were built; a railway, connecting Nicosia and Famagusta was erected; and a new system of roads was

formulated, just to name a few. Another important step for the modernisation of the city was the covering up of the old riverbed, Tripoli Lane, for hygienic reasons. A road emerged in its place, named *Hermes-Ermou Street* (ancient Greek deity protecting traders), and at once, became the major commercial axis of the city. Today, this is the road where Buffer Zone passes by, and hence, remains perfectly preserved.

At the first colonial census in 1881, Nicosia's population was around 11 000 (Table 4.1). With the expansion of the city, in 1946, it had grown to 34 000 (An, 2011). But what made difference in Nicosia's future was more significantly, the changing composition of the population. With the advent of the British, a big part of Turkish population returned to Turkey (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1997). As a consequence, when in 1891, the distribution of Turkish and Greek population had a proportion of 42-57% in Nicosia, in 1946; we observe that it has changed to 30-60% respectively (Url-19). This new population composition brought new arenas of challenge between the subculture groups.

Table 4.1 : Colonial population censuses for Nicosia municipalities, 1881-1960* (Url-19).

Year	*Turkish*	*%*	*Greek*	*%*	*Others*	*%*	*Total*
1881	-	-	-	-	ns	ns	11536
1891	5351	43	7161	57	ns	ns	12515
1901	5992	41	8489	59	ns	ns	14481
1911	6040	38	10012	62	ns	ns	16052
1921	5780	49	6748	57	ns	ns	11831
1931	7681	33	15643	67	ns	ns	23324
1946	10330	30	20678	60	3387	10	34485
1960	14686	32	27645	61	3298	7	45629

ns: not stated
*Excluding the newly added suburbs.

After WWII, the city expanded rapidly and the CBD itself gradually outgrew the walled confines, especially in the more prosperous southern Greek-Cypriot sector (Zetter, 1985). It was not until this period that the rest of the population joined the suburbanisation movement. An additional impetus for population movements and the formation of new areas was gained with the escalation of conflict and division in the city. When conflict mounted between 1955 and 1959, Nicosia started to face rigid divisions for the first time. Even though forming homogeneous ethnic neighbourhoods was the general tendency, 1955-1959 period led to an acceleration of territorial separation. This was the first of three major displacements that occurred in Cyprus. In

1956, the first line of division, Mason-Dixon Line, was penetrated into the city, only to be layered more fiercely in the future.

4.1.5 The Independent City

The most significant reification of the short-lived independence period on Nicosia's urban structure has been the sharpening of the north-south divide. With the unresolved issue of new municipalities, conflict and violence intensified once more in 1963. This was the second displacement taking place in the city and on the island. Big population movements resulted in the formation of 42 Turkish enclaves in 115 villages and town quarters (Figure 4.5), covering 1.6% of the island and the largest one being Nicosia (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1997). Neither government forces, nor Greeks were allowed to enter these enclaves (Attalides, 1981). Greeks exerted economic blockade on the enclaves and denied freedom of movement to the Turks. These enclaves were administered and cared for, by their own municipal organisations formed in 1958.

Figure 4.5 : The development of Turkish Cypriot enclaves in Cyprus (Kliot and Mansfeld, 1997)

In 1963, the Mason-Dixon Line was pronounced by a UN supervised buffer zone. It is estimated that 30% of the Turkish population (7000 ppl) was displaced from their homes, and moved to northern parts of the old town or northern suburbs of Nicosia (Url-19). However, administrative and commercial functions were still together. With time, this started to change and the city started to function as a dual system when separate administrations emerged.

The conflict carried on in a fluctuant manner until 1974, when the island as a whole was divided. This caused the third and last biggest displacement movement of the island. Remaining Turks on the south and remaining Greeks on the north moved to form ethnically homogeneous sites of the Turkish north and Greek south we experience today. The RoC considers 200 000 people, or 23% of its population, to be internally displaced, while there are estimated to be 65 000 internally displaced TCs in 1974 (Selby and Hoffmann, 2012). The natural divide of medieval periods, the Pedios River, was now transformed into a hand-made divide to remain in place for more than 40 years.

4.2 Analysis of Urban Division and Planning in Nicosia

This subsection explains the research conducted in Nicosia before moving on to the analysis of the current state of Nicosia with regards to division and planning. The research was carried out to get the most current information on the *status-quo*, in a city where information is available from two (disconnected) sources. This is why the research precedes the analysis; the analysis is incomplete without the research findings. Consequently, detailed quotes are cited when seen as relevant in the rest of the chapter.

4.2.1 Research on the current state of division and planning in Nicosia

Face to face interviews were carried out in Nicosia in order to reveal how the current situation and future of the city is evaluated with regards to planning. It is a well-known fact that conducting interviews is the most rewarding way of obtaining up-to-date information. Especially given Nicosia's current situation—composed of two separate parts—it would be plausible to acquire facts suitable for cross-communal evaluation. Conducting in-person interviews would provide such a base and help to attain in-depth status of affairs, which would otherwise be hard to obtain. In the following, methodology and the approach of these interviews will be submitted before presenting its findings.

4.2.1.1 Methodology and approach

In-person interview method was preferred because it is comprehensive, in-depth, and flexible and provides a high response rate. In order to obtain the most relevant data,

Turkish and Greek planners and urban administrators, who are active in planning and urban decision-making processes within the city, were selected. Another main concern was to acquire particulars of Nicosia Master Plan (NMP) and its process, since it was carried out in a time when computers were not used widely.

In total, nine face-to-face interviews have been conducted; five with Turkish Cypriots and four with Greek Cypriots. Special attention has been paid to reflect both sides equally both in numbers and in administrational backgrounds (government bodies, municipal bodies, chambers, NMP team members).[2] Since the interviews were designed to get detailed information, the people to be selected were of great importance. Hence, the following list was drawn and the interviewees were approached via email.

Turkish Cypriots:

1. ***Mustafa Akıncı***: *Former Mayor of North Nicosia* (The first mayor of north Nicosia after division, who served between 1976-1990 and was the Turkish counterpart of mayors who initiated the NMP)
2. ***Layık Topcan***: *Deputy Director of Town Planning Department* (Involved in NMP process at various stages as a town planner, team leader and steering committee member)
3. ***Ertan Öztek***: *Planner in Gönyeli Municipality* (Worked in the NMP Team)
4. ***Ayça S. Çıralı***: *Planner in Nicosia Turkish Municipality* (Assigned in the municipality's NMP unit)
5. ***Ali Kanlı***: *President of the Chamber of Urban Planners*

Greek Cypriots:

6. ***Lellos Demetriades***: *Former Mayor of South Nicosia* (The first mayor of south Nicosia after division, who served between 1971-2001 and was the Greek counterpart of mayors who initiated the NMP)
7. ***Makis Nikolaides***: *Deputy Mayor of South Nicosia* (Worked in the NMP Team as a sociologist)
8. ***Glafkos Constantinides***: *Independent planner* (Worked in the NMP Team as an economist and urban planner)
9. ***Andreas Agapiou***: *Director of Housing and Construction Department, Department of Town Planning and Housing / President of the Cyprus Association of Town Planners*

During the preparation of the questionnaire—and after the interviews were terminated—other methods were used to support the interview process and its results, such as, literature review on Nicosia and other interview examples of similar

[2] It should be noted that the reason for Greek Cypriots being one less than Turkish Cypriots is because the same person represented two different organisations (Andreas Agapiou).

researches. The questionnaire was structured in accordance with this review with the following main topics:

- Cooperation in planning
- NMP
- The effects of division on the city
- The effects of division on planning
- Planning and the city in case of reunification
- Other personal thoughts

Each main topic included a variety of questions on the subject (Appendix A). The questions were formulated open-endedly in order to get the most independent and detailed responses. Open-ended questions provided the opportunity for different approaches and opinions to be stated freely.

Some questions were asked to be informed about the current situation, whereas others were formulated to learn about different viewpoints and opinions. In order to be able to ask certain questions to every interviewee regardless of their professional background, the questions were formulated as clear and as generic as possible. However, depending on the professional background of the interviewee, particular technical questions were withheld or altered during interviews. Further, since the subjects were individuals from different ethnic backgrounds who have been in conflict for decades, the questions were prepared to avoid any misunderstanding or favouritism. Any nationalistic, biased or prejudiced rhetoric was eliminated.

Each interview lasted approximately an hour and all were completed in one week. Selection of interview venues was left to the interviewees in order to facilitate the perception of a confidential environment. The answers were audio recorded to be documented on paper afterwards. This provided the foundation for effective evaluation and comparison.

4.2.1.2 Findings

The findings have provided a comprehensive viewing of the current situation of Nicosia and the role and functioning of planning on both sides. Findings are presented according to the main topics listed above. Since it was an open-ended survey, answers varied greatly. Hence, in this section, similar responses are grouped together and their

repetition numbers (indicating the number of persons who answered similarly) are presented in brackets at the end of the sentence. These numbers do not always add up to 9 (the total number of interviews) due to: 1| not every question was posed to every interviewee; and, 2| more than one response was given to a single question by a single interviewee.

Cooperation in planning

The only formal cooperation between the two sides is between the municipalities' NMP units (Table 4.2). However, given the fact that municipalities do not have the authority to make plans, their communication remains restricted to the projects they conduct jointly within the Walled City.

Table 4.2 : Interview findings: cooperation in planning.

A. COOPERATION IN PLANNING	
A.1. Cooperation in planning and decision-making processes	- Depends on the political climate and the attitudes of the political elite (6) - Municipal officials: Long-standing relationship. Each municipality has a NMP unit which are in continuous contact. - Governmental officials: Occasionally meeting in case one or both sides request. Depends on individual attempts. - Professional chamber presidents: No legal or formal relationships at all. Carried out on the personal level
A.2. Topics of cooperation	- Conservation—joint projects under the framework of NMP, with the Walled City as the spatial focus (8) - Technical information exchange (2)
A.3. Desired subjects of cooperation	- Revisions of the NMP (1) - Environmental issues and projects (1) - Joint implementation (1) - To develop a common approach on issues of development (1) - Social and economic policies: poverty, gender issues, fair distribution of housing etc. (1)
A.4. Obstacles hindering cooperation	- Political dead-end, division (9) - Different structural attributes of daily politics and administrative frameworks (2) - Increasing independency of both sides with the passage of time (1)

Be that as it may, these formal relations have halted since 2006 when the then-mayor of north Nicosia (Cemal Bulutoğluları) hindered the formal meetings between the two sides until 2013—the end of his mayorship. Six of the interviewees have pointed this out and emphasised that the attitudes of the political elites is determinative in cooperation processes.

Desired topics of cooperation show alteration according to interviewee backgrounds. Technical staffs of municipalities pronounce project-related aspirations (joint implementation); governmental officials express developmental issues and

environmental concerns; former NMP Team members mention aspects related to insufficiencies of NMP process (revisions and the lack of socio-economic policies).

All of the interviewees state that division is the main obstacle hindering cooperation, which is an obvious fact. This is attributed to the structural differences which have developed due to long-standing division.

Nicosia Master Plan

The necessity of a bi-communal planning approach such as the NMP is seen as indisputable, however, one of the interviewees state that it has lost its essence as being ideal (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 : Interview findings: Nicosia Master Plan.

B. NICOSIA MASTER PLAN (NMP)	
B.1. Existence of other bi-communal planning examples	- None (9) - None because it was a unique case (2) - None but there were international panels, consultants and organisations (1).
B.2. Necessity of bi-communal planning and how ideal NMP is	- Very necessary (9) - Necessary/ideal for coherent spatial development (2) - Ideal at the beginning, but not anymore (1) - Ideal because it is technical (1)
B.3. Strengths and positive sides	- Its process; working and thinking together (3) - Provides a general framework instead of 100% implementation obligation (2) - It will minimize the problems after reunification (2) - Apolitical, technical language (2) - Multi-disciplinary (2) - Created consciousness for preservation (1)
B.4. Weaknesses and shortcomings	- Depends on the political climate and the attitudes of the political elite (4) - It is a physical document: Includes no social or economic policies (4) - Lack of a bi-communal/joint higher committee (2) - Implementation and revisions are carried out separately (2) - Stakeholders are not involved (1)
B.5. Implementations	- Carried out separately; disconnections appeared with time (6) - Main principles like transportation network, objectives etc. were preserved (1) - Financial and economic policies have not been implemented (1) - Individual, project-based implementations; pedestrianisation, restoration (1)
B.6. Project satisfaction (Chrysaliniotissa / Arab Ahmet)	- Successful in the south, unsuccessful in the north (7) - Unsuccessful on both sides (3) - Successful in terms of restoration and conservation (4) - Unsuccessful in terms of attracting private investment and young families (4)
B.7. Flexibility and conclusiveness	- Not binding; both sides have to translate the NMP into their local plans (6) - Flexible (3) - Structure plan is not flexible; development plan is flexible (1)
B.8. NMP decisions in plans	- Both sides have to translate the NMP into their own local plans (6) - There are divergences during the preparation of development plans (6)

The technical and physical focus of the plan is asserted to be insufficient as time passes by, although it was a prerequisite for work to be carried out at the beginning (stated as strength is its apolitical nature and technical language). According to three interviewees, the apolitical nature provided the necessary environment for collaborative planning.

Three significant downfalls are stated. The first one, lack of a joint high-committee, has been expressed by two interviewees. The belief is that if such a committee existed, NMP process would have worked more effectively. One municipality staff has stated the second important shortcoming, which is about participation. Involvement of stakeholders was actually never seen as an option during the preparation of the plan (due to ill-communicativeness of division) and was not considered during implementation as well. This causes dissatisfaction of effected communities with the projects. The third one is that the plan lacks social and economic policies which are in need at the current phase of NMP.

The fact that the plan is not binding and has to be incorporated into local plans has both positive and negative connotations. The negative side stated by two subjects is that, NMP could not be implemented right away (not until the planning legislations of each side were ready) and implementation had to be carried out separately. The inevitable consequence has been disconnections from the plan due to passage of time and changing circumstances. Since the two sides are not in the liberty of meeting and discussing in a formal structure whenever they desire, and there is no higher committee to arrange such situations, revisions have been carried out separately. The positive part, on the other hand, is that it provided a framework instead of obligatory policies, with necessary flexibility for it to be implemented.

In order to understand the level of satisfaction from implementations, questions regarding two specific joint-projects (Chrysaliniotissa/Arab Ahmet) have been directed to the interviewees. Planners evaluate the result as dissatisfactory, while politicians are satisfied with it. However, all the interviewees agreed that conservation-wise; it was successful on both sides ("unsuccessful" refers to not achieving the main objectives of attracting young people and investment to the project areas).

The effects of division on the city

Table 4.4 provides a comprehensive list on the effects of division on the city according to interviewees.

Table 4.4 : Interview findings: effects of division on the city.

C. THE EFFECTS OF DIVISION ON THE CITY	
C.1. Consequences of division	- Decline and deterioration of the city centre (4) - Inefficient road network and problems of accessibility (4) - Uncontrolled urban sprawl (4) - Rushing into decisions—improper resource management (2) - Unplanned commercial areas in the north (2) - Two independent and inefficient cities and regionally insignificant city centres (2) - Loss of urban facilities right after division (1) - Internationally unrecognized north—identity deprivation (1) - Plans cannot be implemented (1) - Property issue; not being able to develop on other group's estates—undeveloped land in the centre while the city expands (1) - Loss of sense of belonging and attachment of dislocated people (1) - Lack of housing on both sides (1) - Over dependency on the centre which lacks accessibility (1)
C.2. Possibility of overcoming problems in the current situation	- It is possible with the continuance of bi-communal cooperation (5) - Only short-term solutions (1) - It is not possible (1)
C.3. Possibility of overcoming problems in case of reunification	- There is nothing which cannot be resolved (6) - Yes; but with high costs (2) - Yes; with the right policies (2) - Yes; by working together and learning from mutual experiences (2)
C.4. Plans/projects directly related to these problems	- Only the joint projects under the framework of NMP, with the Walled City as the spatial focus (9)
C.5. If Nicosia was not divided …	- Walled City would not have deteriorated and could have become an economic centre (3) - It would be a compact city; scattered settlements would be limited and growth would be rational and co-centric (3) - Development routes would not have changed (2) - There would be less vacant land in the centre (2) - The loss of agricultural land would be obstructed (1) - It would be a planned, liveable city that fits into modern standards (1)

Physical consequences of division all tend to be articulated as negative. When particular interviewees were posed with the question of whether these problems could be surpassed in the current situation, five out of six people answered with a conditional affirmation: only with the continuance of bi-communal cooperation. One of the interviewees added that these could only be short-term solutions. When the same interviewees were this time asked whether these problems could be surpassed with reunification, all six of them asserted that they believe so. Emphasis was given on

how costly it would be and that it needs to be carried out with the right policies, bi-communally.

When the interviewees were asked to illustrate an un-divided Nicosia, two aspects came forward: the Walled City and compactness. The interviewees stated that the Walled City could be used to its full potential to become an economic centre. On the other hand, two of the interviewees stated that the current development patterns would have been the same; the city would again develop towards the north and the south.

The effects of division on planning

One of the interviewees righteously asserts that division-related problems faced by planners are fading away as independency increases. However, one situation has been reported to be a continuous problem; establishing an efficient road-network. This is why NMP assigns special importance to this subject.

Regarding planning boundaries, a distinctive difference appears between the two sides. The north does not include the south in any way; however the southern municipal and local plan boundaries are drawn in such a way to include certain northern areas (details are given in section 4.2.3).

As mentioned earlier, governmental bodies do not exchange information. Therefore, during the drawing up of plans, functions on the other side of the border are not determinative. However, NMP acts as informant in such circumstances.

Preferred functions for the Buffer Zone (post-conflict), revealed an emphasis on establishing a neutral and shared activity zone. Only one interviewee stated that it should be preserved as it is to provide a lesson for next generations. An alternate response was using it as an administrational area, reserved for the federal government to be formed with a peace agreement.

Table 4.5 : Interview findings: effects of division on planning.

D. THE EFFECTS OF DIVISION ON PLANNING	
D.1. Problems faced during planning process	- Establishing an efficient road network (2) - Provision of urban amenities (1) - Problems faded with years (1) - The north does not have a base map (1) - Lack of understanding between the north and the south (1) - Not being able to make an Island Plan (1) - Accepting reality and acting from within it is a challenge for planners (1)
D.2. Planning boundaries	- North is included in southern planning boundaries, however remains inactive in these territories (2) - South is not included in northern planning boundaries (1) - The borders were drawn together in the NMP and accepted as such in northern plans (1) - Both sides take the Buffer Zone territory as their own (1)
D.3. Effectiveness of 'functions on the other side' in zoning decisions	- NMP informed both sides on this issue; plans are compatible (3) - Not taken into account (2) - No extreme examples exist which necessitate such an approach except for the sewage facility and the Airport (1)
D.4. Functions that cause bigger problems when cut through	- Commercial areas because they are the heart of the city (2)
D.5. Preferred functions of the buffer zone	- Neutral and shared functions; bi-communal activities, dynamic cultural facilities, restaurants and shops (3) - Should be protected as it is with rehabilitation and restoration (1) - Pedestrian area (1) - Education (1) - Administrational usage (1) - Functions that both sides can benefit; green areas, treatment plants etc. (1)

Planning and the city in case of reunification

Most expressed advantages of reunification are; better communication; better functioning of the city and the planning process; and financial benefits (Table 4.6). On the other hand, power-sharing is attributed to be the most challenging aspect of a unified city.

Commercial areas are evaluated to be more easily merged than residential areas. The main reason behind this is that mixed residential areas were the exceptions in Nicosia throughout its existence. Seven out of seven interviewees agree on pursuing integration in the long-term one way or the other. Instead of compulsory policies, providing spaces where the two communities can build trust is a preferred. When asked whether income differences would be of any problem, the interviewees all stated that they do not believe it—any longer—would. Again, majority (4 out of 6) of the interviewees who were asked for their opinions on what the foundation of reunification should be based on stated that physical reunification should be created for social integration to occur.

Table 4.6 : Interview findings: planning and the city in case of reunification.

E. PLANNING AND THE CITY IN CASE OF REUNIFICATION	
E.1. Advantages of being a united city	- Better communication, coordination and cooperation (3) - The city will function better (2) - Financial benefits due to increased tourism (2) - Planning will function better (2) - Common planning law (1) - Resolving property issues (1) - Being a single planning team (1) - More efficient infrastructure (1)
E.2. Challenges of being a united city	- Power-sharing will raise issues (2) - Polarisation will not fade at once (1) - Ways to develop deeper understanding is necessary (1)
E.3. Functional areas easier to bring together	- Commercial areas are easier to bring together (4) - Residential areas are harder to bring together (2) - Integrated residential areas are a myth, never existed (1)
E.4. Integration or segregation in residential policies	- Not compulsory, but optional; mixed environments should be created (3) - In the long-term, integration; but with a transition phase (3) - Public spaces, mixed workplaces and recreational activity areas should be promoted to internalise living together (2) - Depends on the reached agreement (2) - Residential integration is very hard; but segregation is also dangerous (1) - Pilot neighbourhood (1) - Flexible enough to accommodate local situations (1)
E.5. Problems caused by income differences	- Income differences no longer exist (2) - International dimensions can diminish this difference (2) - No difference from other cities (2) - With necessary precautions, they will fade (2) - Can be avoided by efficient economic planning; using comparative advantages for economic integration (2)
E.6. Foundations of unification	- Physical flexibility should be created for social integration to take place; communal areas should be created (4) - A multidisciplinary team to incorporate all aspects at once (4) - Social and economic planning should orientate physical planning (1) - Pilot neighbourhood to build trust (1) - Nicosia must have a special status as in Brussels (1)
E.7. Belief in reunification & prerequisites	- The city will be reunified at one time (9) - Conflict of interest between international forces need to be neutralized (6) - We need to acknowledge a single communal being (2) - New discovered oil fields are a chance (1) - The entrance of the Greek side to the EU is a hindrance (1)

All the interviewees believe that the city will someday be united. As one of them stated, the border will be removed but the city will remain divided, but this is not a problem because today, every city is divided. Hence, one of the prerequisites for reunification is promoting social integration. Six of the interviewees stressed the importance of neutralising the power of other countries on Cyprus as a prerequisite.

4.2.1.3 Evaluation of the research

A striking result of the interviews is that there appears to be no major difference in opinions and attitudes between the interviewees of two sides. A mere exception is that

Greek Cypriot (GC) subjects give the impression of being more critical about the urban conditions and planning procedures prevailing in the northern sector. Nonetheless, even Turkish Cypriot (TC) interviewees express discontent and praise the south on these issues.

Another difference in attitude arose due to the recognition problem of the north. The deputy mayor of the south refrained from any inclination which acknowledges the north as a republic. In his own words "[...] we don't agree that this [Constantinos Yiorkadjis] is the mayor of the southern part of the town" (M. Nikolaides, personal communication, March 26, 2013) asserting that Constantinos Yiorkadjis is the mayor of the *whole* of Nicosia. Recognition has also caused problems during the preparation of the NMP and has been shown as a reason why it was not possible to establish a joint-high-committee to see the implementation process.

Looking at the current planning systems of both sides, there appear to be major differences. Structural differences, such as administrational organisation and the functioning of daily politics, is the first. The south is more orderly compared to the north. On the other hand, favouritism and patronage is a more frequently encountered way of relations in the north.

Another difference originates from the way planning boundaries are drawn. First of all, both TC and GC have provided very different information on the subject. There seems to be a confusion and misinformation regarding boundary designation. Since political discourses spearheaded in the respective governments are exceptionally different (the north regards current situation as permanent while the south sees it as temporary), the boundaries appear different on both sides. This is why the south includes certain parts of the north in its plans. Further, the south has not prepared an Island Plan, based on the belief that the island is divided, while the north has. This is also a reflection of different political discourses.

It has been clear that division brings diverse dynamics to planning which would not otherwise be the case. This is why interview subjects have been observed to perceive planning in a divided city as an atypical challenge. However, due to long-standing division, the two parts carry on to plan as if division does not exist (except for the Island Plan).

During the interviews, “I don’t know about the other side” was a frequently encountered answer. This proves that the informative power and communicative atmosphere the NMP had created decades ago, has faded. This can be attributed to the vulnerability of the NMP to political climate, and its lack to have formed a joint-high committee. Consequently, young generation planners did not have the chance to contribute to the collaborative planning experience.

A visible contribution of the NMP to the city is the joint projects implemented in the Walled City. These projects are the only ones which deal with the consequences of division in the city today. Another exceptional contribution of the NMP is that, it has informed both sides on the road network, functional zones, buildings and the like, so that local plans are prepared compatibly.

The NMP has also provided an example on how the two sides can work together. It has triggered subsequent cross-border cooperation between different levels of organisations on a variety of subjects. Political parties, NGOs and even governmental (sewerage) collaborations. However, there is one significant kind of cooperation which does not exist on the island today; environmental. Today, it is evident that all around the world, environment has the power to bring different countries together. Cross-border agreements and organisations acknowledge that nature does not recognise boundaries and promote cross-border cooperation. This could prove to be useful for countries in conflict such as Cyprus.

The following sections of this chapter will build on to these evaluations and provide a detailed description of division and planning in Nicosia.

4.2.2 Urban consequences of division

None of the cities examined in this research fit into the term ‘divided city’ as perfectly as Nicosia does. Divided for more than 40 years, right from the middle of an excellent geometric shape (circle-the walled city), it is like a prototype for divided cities. Division is so embedded and taken for granted that, even though there is no peace agreement, the city shelters nearly all the hallmarks of a ‘peaceful’ city. However, this is a misleading appearance because this peacefulness is not an attribute of ‘the city’ but rather, of ‘two cities’. Today, when we say Nicosia, we actually refer to *Lefkoşa* (Lefkosha) and *Λευκωσία* (Lefkosia). This is why, in this section, the first step is to evaluate how two parts of the city evolved independently. We will be able to observe

the self-organisation processes of two separate subsystems that were once a single system. In the following, major elements of the urban system are evaluated in the light of division.

4.2.2.1 Demographic changes

The population of Nicosia (and the island) is and since division, has always been a problematic issue due to its political connotations. The existence of military personnel is an issue of continuous debate. For example, Turkish troops are suggested to be around 40 000 (Bray, 2011), which are not included in censuses. Each section of the divide carries out separate censuses for their own parts. Therefore, cross-communal statistics are hard to attain and compare.

The following table gives the municipality and greater Nicosia populations (including the suburbs) of each side (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 : Population of Nicosia according to censuses held on each side after division.

North Nicosia	***Greater Nicosia***	***Municipality***	***Municipality %***
2011	94.824	61.378	65
2006	84.776	56.146	66
1996	58.536	na	
South Nicosia	***Greater Nicosia***	***Municipality***	***Municipality %***
2011	326.980	55.014	17
2001	273.642	47.832	17
1992	149.601	47.000	31
1982	210.684	48.200	23

Source: *State Planning Organisation (TRNC); Statistical Service (RoC).*

The last population censuses conducted in 2011 on both sides reveals that the total population of Nicosia is 421 804 and the total population of the municipalities is 116 392 (27%). This strikingly low percentage of the municipalities is a result of steep acceleration in suburbanisation after division.

Following division, around 160 000 Greeks fled to the south and 45 000 Turks to the north on the whole of the island (Url-19). Most of the displaced people's first point of arrival was Nicosia, and this was where they were permanently accommodated. For example, according to the Nicosia Local Plan report prepared by Department of Town Planning and Housing (DTPH) in the south, the population of Nicosia rose by 40% between 1973 and 1976 (DTPH, 2003). Hence, displacements on both sides had

tremendous effects on urban development patterns as we will witness in the following sections.

After 1974, Nicosia was composed of two homogenous sectors, one Turkish and one Greek. However, both sides attracted considerable amounts of immigration from different countries. According to the latest population census (2011), the major population groups in the northern sector of Nicosia is; 64% TRNC nationals (60 786 – among which 74% has only TRNC nationality while the rest have double nationalities), and 32% Turkish nationals (30.449) from Turkey. In the southern part, Cyprus nationals compose 78% of the population (255.211), the next two major groups being 3% from Romania (10.208) and 2.6% from Greece (8.732). Sri Lankans and Filipinos sum up to 6% of the population. Both sides also receive a considerable amount of Turkmen and Bulgarian females, who work as private care-takers or nurses. The majority of immigrant populations on both sides of Nicosia tend to live in and around the Walled City, following the general trend around the world and Chicago School's transition zone approach.

4.2.2.2 Administrative structure

With permanent division in 1974, the city consisted of two separate municipalities and administrative structures; the unrecognized Turkish one and the internationally recognized Greek one. Figure 4.6 represents the combination (brought together by the author) of the two separately acknowledged municipal boundaries. Interestingly, both of the municipalities of Nicosia use the Venetian Walls as their logo.

Today, administrative boundaries of the city are handled differently by the two sides. While the northern section does not take the southern part into consideration (Figure 4.7), the southern sector takes certain parts of the northern sector, such as Kermiya and Alayköy, as part of their administrative divisions (pink and light blue districts in Figure 4.8). This is mainly due to the fact that both GCs and TCs take the buffer zone as their own territories (L. Topcan, personal communication, March 29, 2013). From the Figure 4.7, we can observe that there is no continuation to the southern sector, only greyness, like nothing exists. However, Figure 4.8 shows that the south acknowledges that there is a part of Nicosia on the north, because the boundary of the city continues to the opposite side, but it is just not shown on the map.

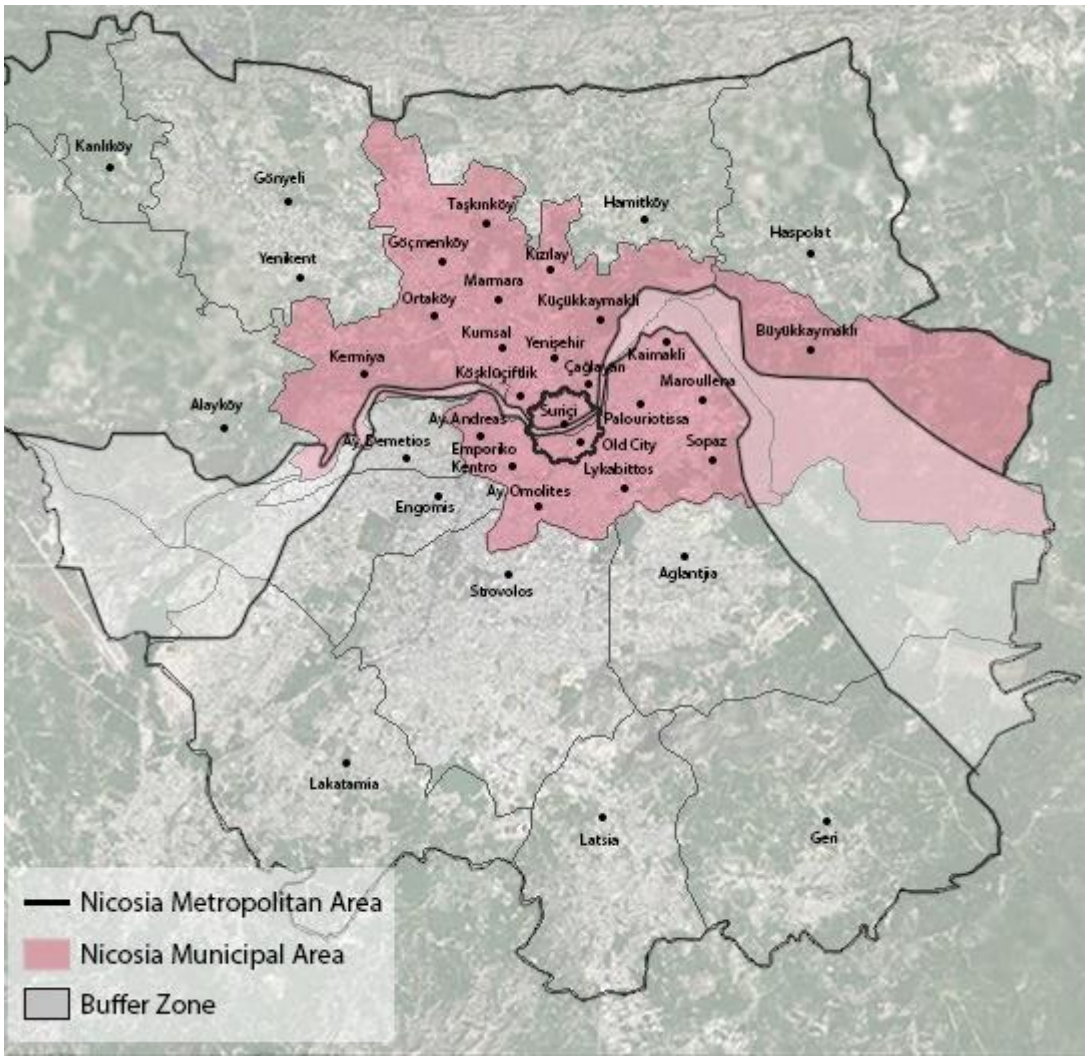

Figure 4.6 : Administrational organisation of Nicosia (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Public administration on both sides is highly centralised. Especially in northern Cyprus, although municipality represents the local administration of the city, its operations and decision-making capacity is constrained due to limited funds and lack of international recognition. On the southern sector, due to the expansion of the city specifically after 1980s, an administrative reorganisation took place to co-ordinate planned growth in Nicosia (Zetter, 1985). In this context, the government recognised importance of local administration and established a policy of decentralisation of decision-making (Oktay, 2007).

Since 1958 when the Turkish sector established its own municipal council, the two-headed administrational structure is in place. Communication between the two municipalities is carried out via UN organisations such as UN Development Program (UNDP), the UN Office for Project Services (UNOPS), and the UN Refugee Agency

(UNCHR). Meetings are held also at UN headquarters, *Ledra Palace*, in the Buffer Zone.

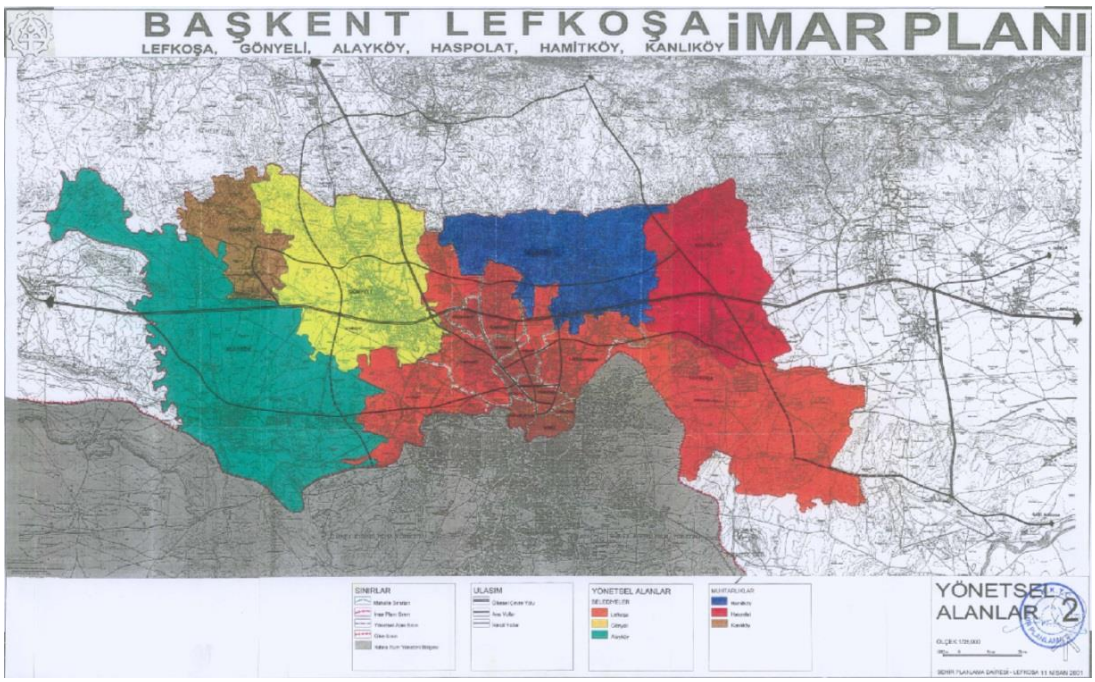

Figure 4.7 : Administrative boundaries of Nicosia – Turkish sector (Nicosia Development Plan, 2001)

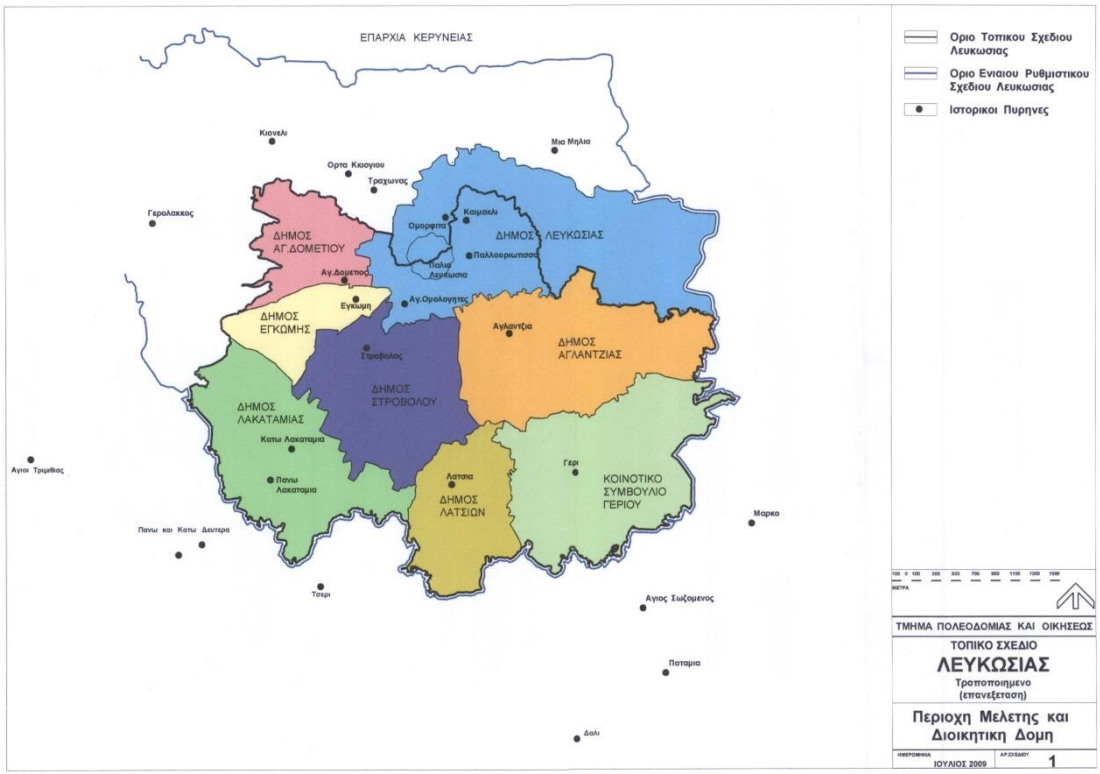

Figure 4.8 : Administrative boundaries of Nicosia – Greek sector (Nicosia Local Plan, 2011)

4.2.2.3 Urban development patterns

Development patterns of each side were tremendously shaped by the presence of the buffer zone. Before 1974, development was oriented on an east-west axis (Oktay, 2007). There was uniform residential expansion within the water supply boundary (Zetter, 1985; Alpar, 2004). However, after division, this route changed to a north-south axis, since buffer zone was running in the former route of development.

Both sides went through rapid urbanisation and construction processes due to resettlement programs initiated after 1974. In the southern section of the island, the government actively encouraged the transition from an agrarian to urban-based manufacturing and commercial economy (Zetter, 1985). Nicosia was the general beneficiary of these policies as well as the influx of displaced people from north. These people were accommodated in permanent housing estates in urban locations, especially in the southern fringes of Nicosia. At the time, this was deemed necessary. However, "rushing into decisions" caused bigger problems due to massive suburbanisation movements that followed (A. Agapiou, personal communication, March 29, 2013). Residential areas sprawled inefficiently, mainly towards Strovolos. Latsia, Lakatamia and Geri were upgraded to municipalities to form the second ring of suburbs (Demetriou, 2004).

The northern section had the same expansion problem. A critical difference was how the property issue was handled. The estates of the Greeks who had left were distributed to the Turks who were either displaced from the South or came to the city from the rural areas or from abroad. However, tendency was to build wherever there were Turkish estates and skip the Greek ones (E. Öztek, personal communication, March 27, 2013). As a result, central areas like Kızılbaş remained undeveloped while areas like Gönyeli and Hamitköy in the suburbs went through a construction boom. Nevertheless, lack of housing was not resolved. Social housing estates were constructed in suburban sites, on Greek estates (E. Öztek, personal communication, March 27, 2013), which had a similar suburbanisation effect on the northern section.

Furthermore, as evidenced in most of the rapidly urbanising countries, the land values of the Nicosia are extraordinarily high due to the existence speculative processes (Zetter, 1985). The free market dictates urban development trends within the city. Zetter (1985) refers to the situation Nicosia is facing today as "market failure […]

[where] nominal availability of land is contradicted by a low actual supply of developable land" (p. 26). This causes urban development to occur disconnectedly and in an unconsolidated manner, where large vacant land in the centre exists while the city keeps on developing further towards its fringes.

As a result of piecemeal, plot-by-plot, individual and private developments without any systematic planning approach on both sections of the city, a fragmented city-scape was created. Suburban expansion after WWII until the 1960s was in a rather coherent manner when compared with later expansion (Demetriou, 2004). Today, the city has a multi-nodal appearance, in other words, it is a conurbation. This type of urban development is both expensive and inefficient.

4.2.2.4 Functional elements of the city

With division, inter-relationships between different land uses—residential, commercial, and administrational functions—and the capital city functions as well as central functions of the city were lost.

Before division in 1974, the city acted as the administrational power engine of the island where embassies, public buildings and all other government bodies were located. However, since 1963, Turkish sector broke off from the administrational capacity of the city to form its own bodies. Consequently, Nicosia lost its capital city functions such as decision-making capacity and prestige as a single administrative centre. Administrative bodies and public services duplicated and dispersed accordingly within the city fabric. Figure 4.9 presents the distribution of administrational bodies. It is striking to see how the same governmental bodies remain in close proximity to one another. Apart from revealing the unnecessary nature of division, the economic burdens exerted on both sides is explicitly observed.

Even though capital functions of the city deteriorated, as an interviewee (L. Topcan) stated, today Nicosia carries the burden of being overwhelmingly groomed with central functions on both sides of the divide:

> The city is in a bottleneck position. The centre and all important service activities are at the mouth of the bottle. […] The historical centre, service areas, courts, schools and residential areas are at the edge of the bottle. […] We see a centre-based organisation on space. Governmental bodies are located here and people have to come here to carry out their work. Schools are also not dispersed. The city grows, but social and technical facilities do not go there, so people have to come here, to the centre. (L. Topcan, personal communication, March 29, 2013)

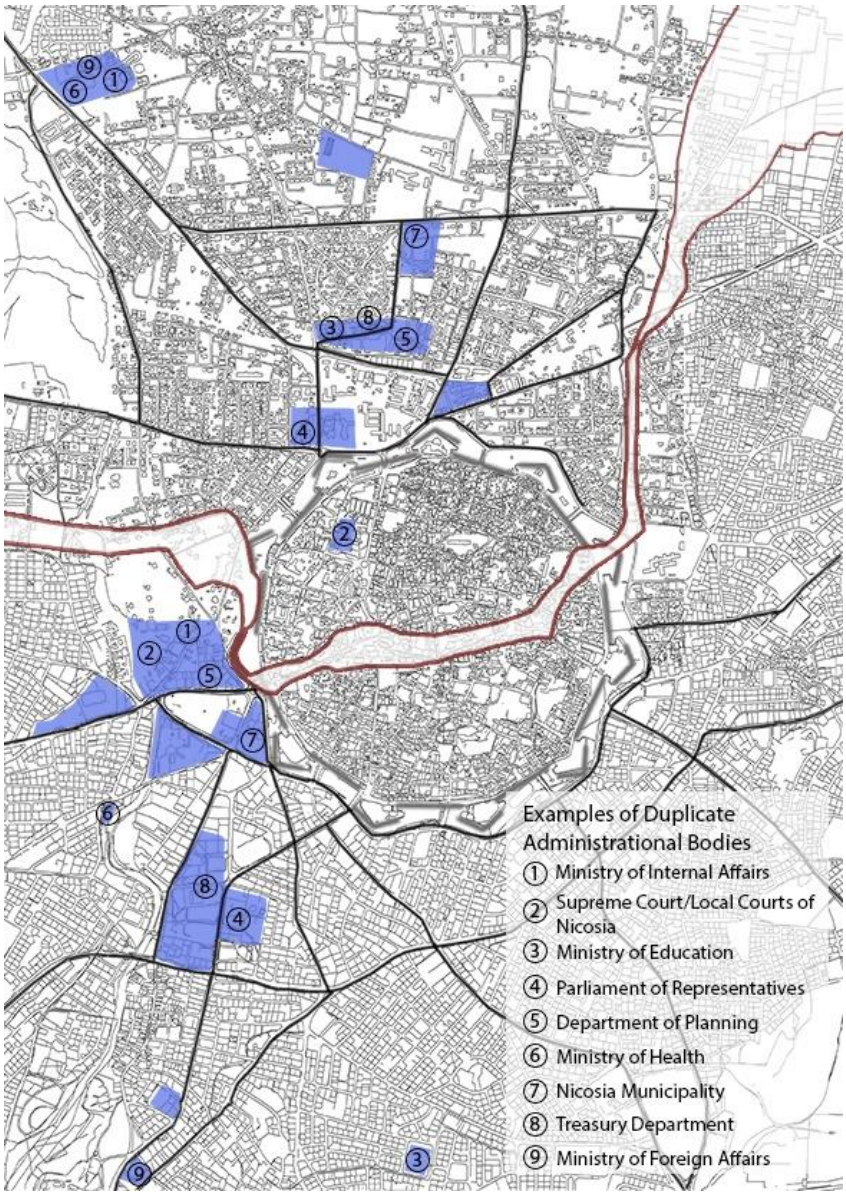

Figure 4.9 : Duplicate administrative bodies of the city, Nicosia, 2014 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

This "bottleneck" situation implies that the performance or capacity of the entire system is limited to—in this case—its centre. Urban development patterns that are starkly shaped by division, limits the capacity of the city to function as a whole.

Commercial areas have also been traditionally located at the centre of the city, specifically in the middle parts of the Walled City (Figure 4.10). As stated earlier, it was not until the Second World War that the CBD expanded outside the walls, towards the southern sector. Commercial areas acted as common places even during times of discord, until 1974. After this time, two CBDs grew out from the single CBD that existed before.

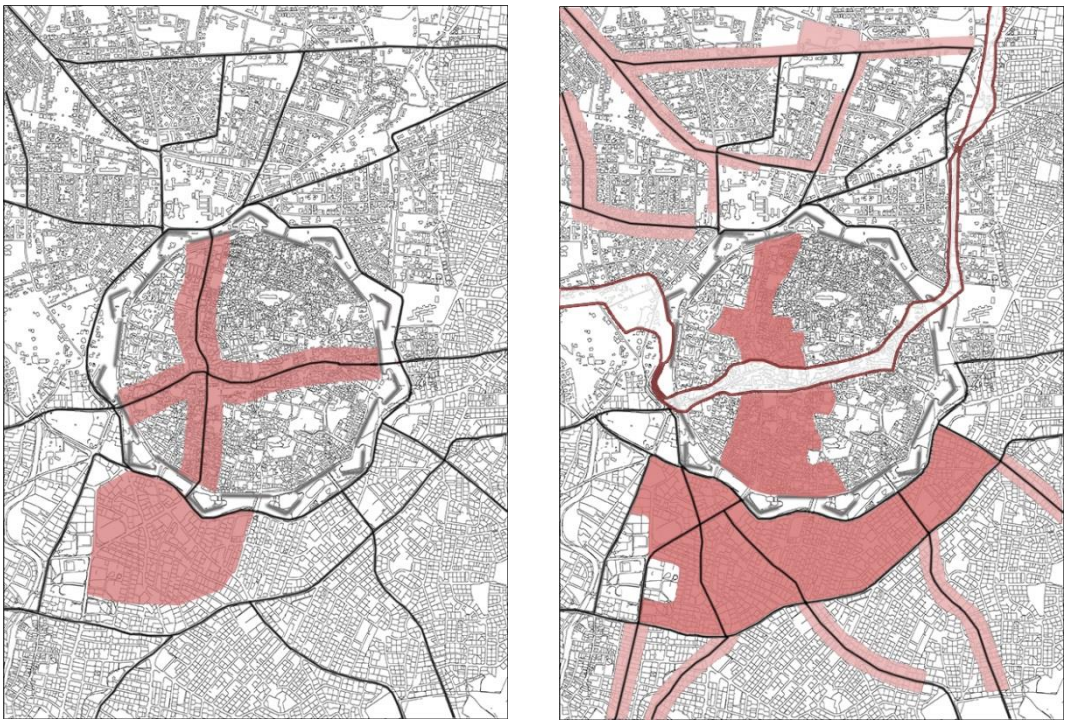

Figure 4.10 : Schematic representation of commercial areas before division (left) and after division (right), Nicosia (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Even though bipolarisation occurred, neither the south, nor the north created totally new CBDs, abandoning the old one (as was the case in Berlin). Nonetheless, smaller scaled commercial areas exist in the later built parts of the city. In the northern part, these have evolved along major roads due to the lack of compact sub-centres (L. Topcan, personal communication, March 29, 2013).

Regardless of the fact that CBDs of both sides still remain in and around the city centre, their appearances are completely different. The officially-recognized RoC continued to benefit from foreign investment and capital. Integration to the world economy and capital accumulation has transformed the appearance of southern CBD into a more familiar one; a financial centre which can be encountered all around the world with its high skyscrapers. However, the TRNC is disintegrated from the world economy and its CBD does not shelter tall buildings or international financial institutions.

Residential areas of Nicosia have traditionally developed around the CBD. Expansion outside the walls did not indicate a break off from this pattern (Figure 4.11). Areas around the Walled City, like Köşklüçiftlik, Yenişehir and Çağlayan in the north, and Ayios Dhometios, Ayios Constantinos and Ayios Nikoladis in the south, were the first ones to be built before 1974 (Oktay, 2007).

Figure 4.11 : Schematic representation of residential areas before division (left) and after division (right), Nicosia (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

After division, there was an intervention to this compact growing pattern. As mentioned earlier in 'urban development patterns' section, displaced people had to be accommodated immediately on both sides. This was either done by placing them in the emptied houses (mostly preferred course of action in the north) or constructing new public housing estates where ever possible. Individual preferences to move away from the border and planned public housing estates added new residential areas to the city's suburban boundaries. For example, Göçmenköy in the north, which literally means 'immigrant village' was a public housing area constructed to accommodate the Turks who had been displaced from the south. Strovolos was the counterpart of this type of development in the south. In the end, all the displaced people were accommodated within two years after division.

Construction of new housing estates caused clashes among urban functions (Alpar, 2004). One example for this was using cultivated land for the new estates (E. Öztek, personal communication, March 27, 2013). Environmental degradation, decrease in quality of life and uncontrolled development trends became Nicosia's main problems as of today.

It should be emphasised that residential segregation was easily achieved after division; as historically, Turks and Greeks lived separately with the exception of few mixed neighbourhoods. Commercial and administrational spaces were mainly the common usage areas. Therefore, in 1974, after three waves of displacements that had occurred during 1955-1974 period, totally homogeneous quarters were created.

In addition to the Green Line, the city is also historically divided as the inner old walled part and the outer improving part. With the acceleration of new developments outside the walled city after division, the historical core of the city lost its weight as a city centre for Nicosia. Instead, new commercial, business and administration areas emerged outside the walls. Division pushed people away from the centre which had now become the edge and the border. Hence, the walled city started to deteriorate as new, low-income immigrants, having no sense of attachment to the houses they accommodate in, started to live in these residual areas within the city walls. The decay of the urban core—either due to the shift of the CBD to adjacent locations outside the walls, or the green line or the suburbanising population—has also brought ill-treated functions within the area. Most encountered inappropriate functions are warehouses, short-life manufacturing uses, mechanics, and large parking areas.

Unplanned development patterns and property issues emerging from division caused the urban fabric to shelter derelict areas and an unsystematic green space network (Figure 4.12). Planned green spaces and public open spaces do not form a network within the city on both sides. Only around the walled city, on the route of the old moat, a uniform green space can be observed. However, the existence of large empty plots is promising to form such a network if decided since the buffer zone is itself a vast derelict land which could be used for gluing instead of dividing.

On the other hand, education was separate within the city throughout its history. However, this was mainly primary and secondary education and even then, mixed schools, like the English School, existed. With division, each sector had to accommodate educational needs of their populations. Today, there are nine universities in total in the whole of Nicosia. This is a rather high number for such a small city. With the opening up of the borders primarily in 2003, and then in 2008, schools were among the first places where the population mixed on a daily routine.

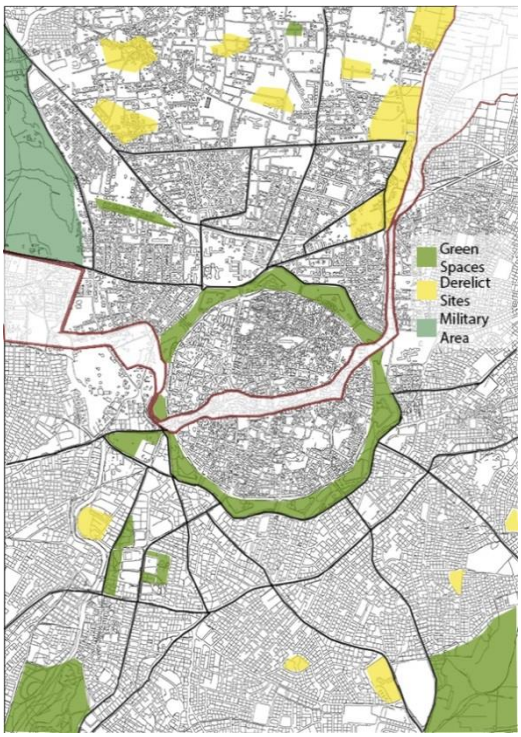

Figure 4.12 : Schematic representation of green and open spaces, Nicosia, 2014 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

4.2.2.5 Structural elements of the city

Transportation is a vital element of a city in order for it to function as a system. It connects different parts of the city with the centre and with each other. It provides continuity and links different functions and land-uses. If division was not to occur, we could have expected a holistic transportation network to take shape (Figure 4.13). This would be an efficient and hierarchical road system consisting of regional roads, radial roads and a ring road around the city centre.

However, evolution of such a network has been restricted by the Green Line. Today, each part of the city appears as if it is running away from the other. The southern sector is functioning more efficiently, whereas the northern part is squeezed in a corridor towards Gönyeli (Figure 4.14). The transportation structure on both sides resulted in series of loops which appear to be meaningless since they were essentially parts of a single transportation system. Specifically on the northern sector, there are radial roads but no parallel roads to connect them. Further, accessibility to the centre has suffered significantly on both sides, with certain parts of the city having no direct roads to the centre. As an interviewee states: “If this was a normal, whole city, accessibility to the centre would be possible from anywhere” (L. Topcan, personal communication, March

29, 2013). Since the centre is the 'bottleneck' of the city, its accessibility raises bigger issues than anticipated. Once arrived at the centre, your only option is to turn back, because the centre is composed of *cul-de-sacs* and actually is in itself a *cul-de-sac*.

In the city, there are roads which go nowhere and end suddenly. This is mostly visible in the Walled City where the buffer zone is a thin line. Here, streets end with sandbag barriers, painted gasoline barrels, barbed wires, metal fences and the like. The former organic street pattern, essentially symbolising fluidity, no longer exists around the buffer zone streets (Figure 4.15). Additionally, around the Walled City, due to years of development *according to* division, roads have completely vanished and got separated from each other (Figure 4.16 and 4.17).

On the other hand, infrastructure systems are the only elements of the city which function for both sides today. Cooperation on the sewerage system started right after division, around 1977 and an agreement was achieved in 1978. The freshwater supply is also not divided, since the system could not be separated in a day. Even though the intention was not to cooperate, the network remains shared. Both sides use each other's water (although the South no longer uses North's aquifer, since the water is becoming saline), but they do not have a formal agreement (C. Hoffmann, personal correspondence by e-mail, December, 3, 2013). Today, a project is being carried out which will bring freshwater from Turkey to Cyprus eventually rendering the north more independent on issues of water.

Electricity was also not completely divided into two networks until mid-1990s. Directly after division, electricity to the northern part was provided by the southern sector. After the termination of Teknecik Electricity Power Plant in 1977, the Turkish sector started to produce its own electricity and gradually became more independent. Today, both sides produce and use their own electricity, except for some villages in the Northern sector which are fed by the Southern sector (Url-20).

Figure 4.13 : Major road network of Nicosia without the Buffer Zone (redrawn from UNDP/UNCHS, 1984 by G. Caner for this PhD Thesis in 2014)

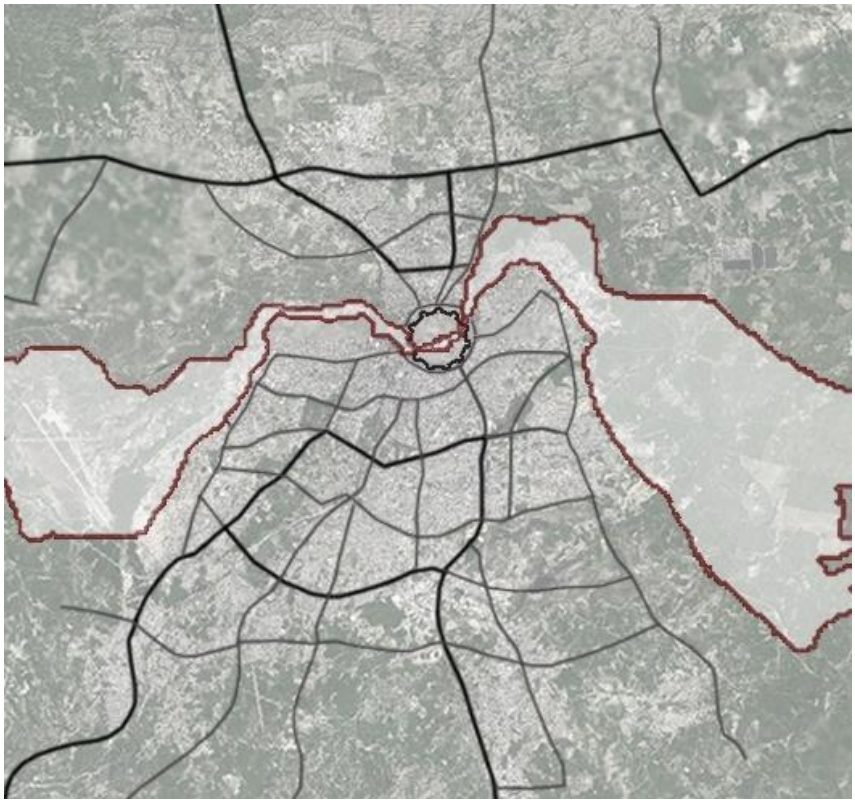

Figure 4.14 : Major road network of Nicosia with the Buffer Zone (redrawn from UNDP/UNCHS, 1984 by G. Caner for this PhD Thesis in 2014)

Figure 4.15 : A metal gate facing the Buffer Zone on Ledra Street (left) and an abandoned building in the Buffer Zone behind barbed wires and gasoline barrels (right), Nicosia, 2014 (G. Caner photograph archives).

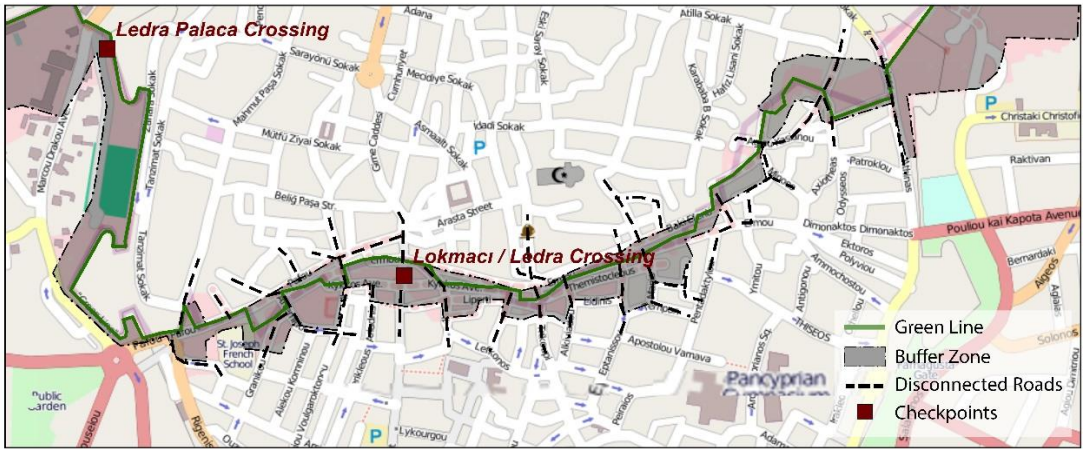

Figure 4.16 : Disconnected Roads in the Walled City, Nicosia, 2014 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

Another structural element of Nicosia is the buffer zone. It occupies 10% of the Walled City and 3% of the island. Green Line is a component of the buffer zone which expands 187 km along the island. Buffer zone's width is up to 5 km in the urban fringe and only a few meters or a street within the city centre. Once the focal point of urban activity, it contains historical buildings with architectural significance. These buildings remain uninhabited since 1974; hence they are left to decay. There is also an airport within the Buffer Zone, which was the only airport of the island before division.

Figure 4.17 : Disconnected Roads around the City Centre, Nicosia, 2014 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

The streets around the buffer zone are mainly composed of commercial areas and buildings used by small-industries. The industries are functionally not in accordance with the buildings they accommodate. There are only two residential areas, Arabahmet district on the northern section and Chrysaliniotissa on the southern part. Within these residential areas live the low-income immigrants. In addition to the buffer zone, inconvenient functional activities mentioned above and residents' detachment from the area, deepen the degradation of the walled city.

All the streets leading up to the buffer zone end suddenly. Today, there are three points in Nicosia that movement is permitted to the other side (Figure 4.18). Two of these checkpoints opened up in 2003; Ledra Palace crossing for pedestrians and Kermia crossing for vehicles. However, it was not until 2008 that the first crossing to directly

connect commercial and residential areas of Nicosia opened up on the previous commercial axis of Ledra Street: Lokmacı / Ledra Checkpoint (Figure 4.19).

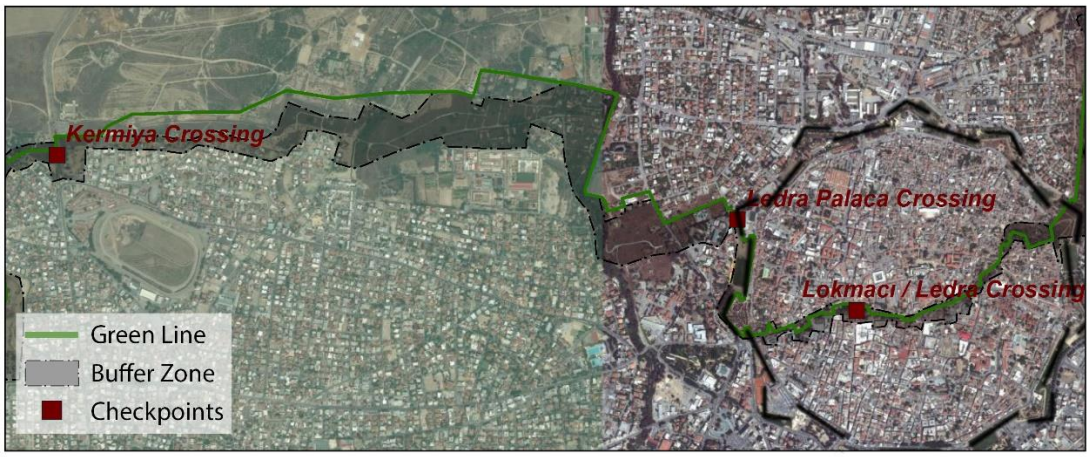

Figure 4.18 : Checkpoints of Nicosia, 2014 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

The opening up of the border has had tangible effects on the functions and structural components of the city. The most significant one has been the generation of trade in the business district of the Walled City, near the Lokmacı / Ledra gate (Yorucu et al., 2010). This, coupled with NMP oriented revitalisation projects for the historic core is changing the physical appearance of the walled city, making it a place which is more frequently used by all Cypriots. A further distinctive effect has been the opening up of RoC's labour market to Turkish Cypriot day labourers, specifically after the accession of the RoC to the EU in 2004. It is estimated that 2 000 northern Cypriots cross to the south each day, mostly to work on construction sites (Bray, 2011).

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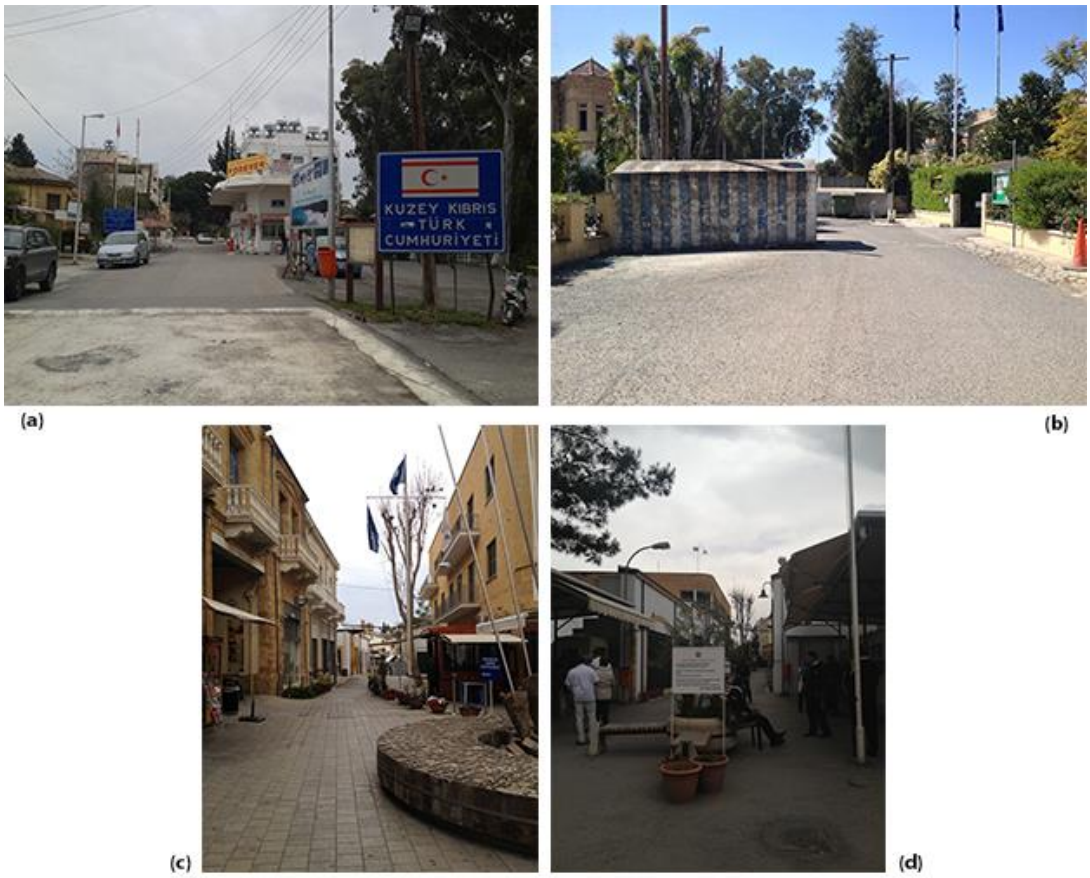

Figure 4.19 : Entering the Turkish side through Ledra Palace Gate (a); entering the Greek side through Ledra Palace Gate (b); entering the Ledra Gate from the Greek Side; (d) entering Lokmacı Gate from the Turkish side, Nicosia, 2014 (G. Caner photograph archives).

Even though the buffer zone is a structural component of the city, it is slowly being equipped by certain activities; hence turning into a functional zone. Today, the it shelters several bi-communal spaces. A football pitch was created for both sides to use but is actually used only by the Turkish side, since the only way to enter is through the Turkish side. There is Home for Cooperation, where Turkish and Greek language lessons are given, seminars and meetings are held and which contains a Cyprus-themed library. There is also the Ledra Palace Hotel which is used as accommodation for UN soldiers but even before division, sheltered bi-communal activities and festivals.

4.2.2.6 Evaluation of the physical appearance of Nicosia

As a conclusion, the physical appearance of the divided city has been presented up till this point. Today, Nicosia, being the only divided capital in Europe, represents downsides of being divided in all its aspects. Borsdof and Zembri (2004) classify

Nicosia as a ‘patchwork city’, where housing, industrial estates, green areas, satellite towns etc. are all disseminated randomly (Figure 4.20).

Main problems faced by division on both sides of the divide which find reflections on the urban area are as follows:

- Small independent towns within commuting distance to the centre without any connections among each other;
- Uncontrollable sprawl; the north developing towards north and the south developing towards south, away from each other in a disconnected manner;
- Undeveloped and derelict land remaining in the centre while the surrounding villages are absorbed into the city’s boundaries;
- Loss of high-grade agricultural land;
- Insufficient and inefficient road network which renders the city centre inaccessible from certain parts of the city. This also leads to a poor public transport services;
- Duplication of urban functions such as administrational areas, industrial areas, commercial areas, hospitals, educational facilities etc.;
- Independently operating two small cities which cannot become regionally vibrant and important (G. Constantinides, personal communication, March 26, 2013);
- Lack of organised green spaces and high quality environmental factors;
- Degradation of the historic core, the Walled City.

Looking at Nicosia’s current situation with a systems view it can be observed that both parts of Nicosia have self-organised to change their internal structure to better fit into their changing environment. Increasing independence of both sides resemble Hall’s (1973) principles on progressive factorisation. Dynamic conservatism (Chadwick, 1971) of the urban system is changed by an external perturbation (division), converting the city from systemisation to factorisation coinciding with progressive centralisation of Nicosia (bottle-neck position). In this new trajectory, both parts, which are actually subsystems of the whole urban system, make internal changes to achieve biotic balance (Park, 1936) or steady state (Bertalanffy, 1950) since cities are urban social organisms and learning systems. This implies that the reverse procedure of progressive systemisation is possible.

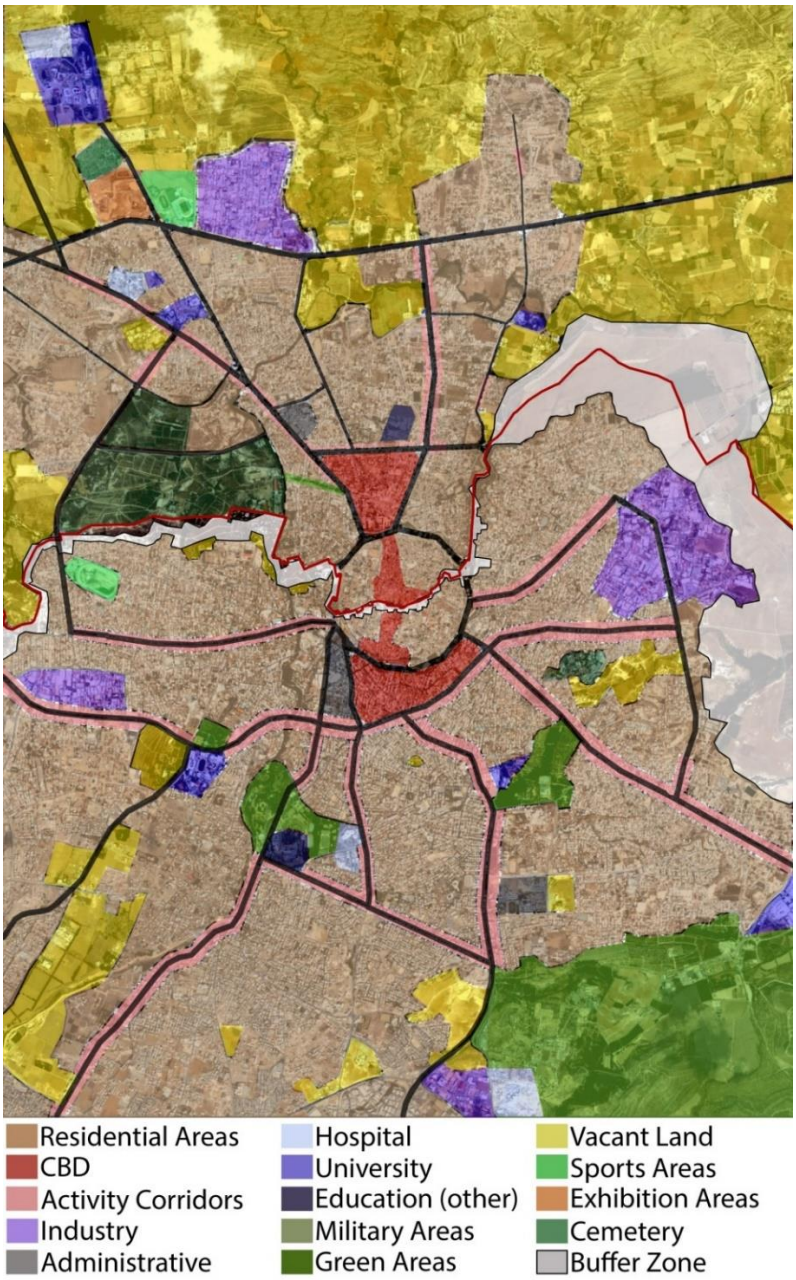

Figure 4.20 : Physical appearance of the divided city, Nicosia, 2014 (produced by G. Caner for this PhD thesis in 2014).

4.2.3 Spatial planning and urban policies

Urban planning and policy in Cyprus dates back the first half of the twentieth century, when the island was a British Colony. The first law regarding planning, 'The Construction of Buildings, Streets and Wells Laws' was enacted in 1927. At the time, unhygienic circumstances prevailing in the city (like main water supply running above the ground) caused the Colony Government to act. Main aim was to supply drainage, healthy residential areas and the like.

As mentioned earlier, it was not until after WWII that the city started to expand due to industrialisation, urbanisation and suburbanisation. A new regulation became necessary to overcome the new challenges. Therefore, in 1946, 'Streets and Building Regulation Law' was enacted. It aimed to regulate the construction of roads and buildings, infrastructural improvements, building heights, building functions and land-uses and all other issues linked to planning the city. This law is acknowledged as the first law to formally aim at regulating planning actions. Nonetheless, it remained insufficient because it did not provide a holistic planning approach, but instead technical solutions to certain issues. Furthermore, it did not include policies to procure controlled development and tools to support this (Alpar, 2004). This is mainly the reason why, after 1974, when there was a housing crisis, the city evolved unsystematically and in a fragmented form.

A Town Planning and Housing Department was formed in 1955 and started to prepare a new law that would overcome the above mentioned issues. 1955-1959 events halted their work. After independence in 1960, pressure on cities increased as a result of rapidly changing physical environment. A Planning Committee was established with the participation of Town Planning Department, Ministry of Internal Affairs Housing Department, and Nottingham University (TPD, 2000). This committee prepared regional development plans and a new law. This law was presented to the President in 1967; however it was not accepted until two years before division. The Turkish sector was not a part of this process; instead, another Urbanism Department was established and this department prepared a separate plan for Nicosia's Turkish sector, Hamitköy and Gönyeli (TPD, 2000). This plan was also not concluded due to division.

In 1972, 'Town and Country Planning Law' was voted on by Parliament, only to be enacted decades later on both sides of the island. It was not until the nineties that—separate—spatial plans for Nicosia were drawn. Legal framework for planning in the north and south today is based on this British inspired law with certain Turkish and Greek overtones respectively.

In the chaotic aftermath of division, the island was faced with severe urban problems such as; lack of housing for the displaced people, duplication of urban facilities and functions that are necessary for life to continue as normal, rupture of infrastructure systems, disconnected transportation network. The two sides of the divide were caught unprepared for these unexpected and extraordinary circumstances.

Consequently, the city was forced to evolve in an unsystematic manner as quick decisions had to be taken. Nicosia suddenly turned into two cities and receded decades behind. In this atmosphere, NMP emerged to restore the essence of the city as a single unity and to fill up the lost time. Both sides' planning and urban policy approaches developed according to this initial step of planning after division. Therefore in this section, it is essential to evaluate NMP first, and then, planning approaches of each side separately.

4.2.3.1 Nicosia Master Plan (NMP)

NMP is the only common planning document, tool or vision for the whole of Nicosia. It is a physically-oriented master planning approach, which started to take shape in 1979 when the two Mayors of Nicosia, Mustafa Akıncı and Lellos Demetriades, envisioned that they could go through with a common vision for the city since their first bi-communal project, the sewerage plant, had resulted with success. If it was not for their personal commitment, the project might not have initiated (personal communication with M. Akıncı; L. Demetriades).

According to a great variety of scholars, NMP is a unique approach, where collaborative planning has reached unexpected levels of achievement in very difficult political circumstances (Abu-Orf, 2005; Gaffikin and Morrissey, 2011; Charlesworth, 2006). It has won two awards up till today; World Habitat Award for "innovative housing and planning ideas" in 1989; and Aga Khan Award for Architecture for the "rehabilitation of the Walled City of Nicosia" in 2007.

A technical team of both communities composed of architects, planners, engineers, sociologists and economists was formed. These local professionals met at the UNOPS headquarters at irregular intervals, depending on the necessity to discuss technical issues. On the other hand, the representatives of the two communities met weekly at the Ledra Palaca Hotel in the buffer zone. In all these meetings, the aim was to communicate on the practical agenda rather than political issues. As Lellos Demetriades, the then-mayor of the Greek Nicosia has put forward, these meetings were informal—not recorded—and most importantly, if there were any intervening political issues that needed to be addressed, they were referred to 'top-level' meetings. In order to provide this apolitical climate, participants were detached from their institutional ties and only regarded as professional representatives (M. Akıncı,

personal communication, March 25, 2013). All the projects were financed under the umbrella of the United Nations organisations like UNDP, UNCHS, UNOPS etc. and other international financial organisations such as the World Bank.

The NMP started off with a development objective of "the improvement of the existing and future habitat and human settlement conditions of all the inhabitants of Nicosia" (UNDP/UNCHS, 1984, p. 1). The first phase of the joint plan was between 1981 and 1984. The aim of this phase was to produce a comprehensive planning strategy. However, Town and Country Planning Law was not enacted at the time, hence the approach had to be flexible enough to accommodate the unsettled political atmosphere of such a divided city. Therefore, a radical scenarios approach was developed with two scenarios; divided and reunited. This is one of the most important strengths of the project; that it did not depend on a formal peace agreement in order to handle the city as a singular entity (Charlesworth, 2006).

The first phase of the project resulted in a formulation of a planning strategy based on containment and consolidation while promoting sustainable patterns of development (Petridou, 2004). Since existence of empty plots was defined as the major constraint of the city, concentration and consolidation was seen as the most urgent topic. Policies and proposals regarding urban development, functional areas (residential, commercial, industrial etc.), transportation and traffic, Walled City, open space and recreation and economic and financial tools were presented according to the two scenarios.

These aspects of the plan constituted the 'Structure Plan', which was not meant to be flexible in any way (E. Öztek, personal communication, March 27, 2013). On the other hand, a flexible and implementation oriented physical 'Development Plan' was put forward to be constantly reviewed and updated in the framework of main decisions established in the binding Structure Plan (Figure 4.21 and Figure 4.22).

The second phase (1984-1986) focused on a more detailed operational plan for the city centre, including the walled section and the adjacent CBD. The Walled City constituted a common heritage for all the communities of Nicosia and therefore was seen as the most precious part of the city by the bi-communal NMP team.

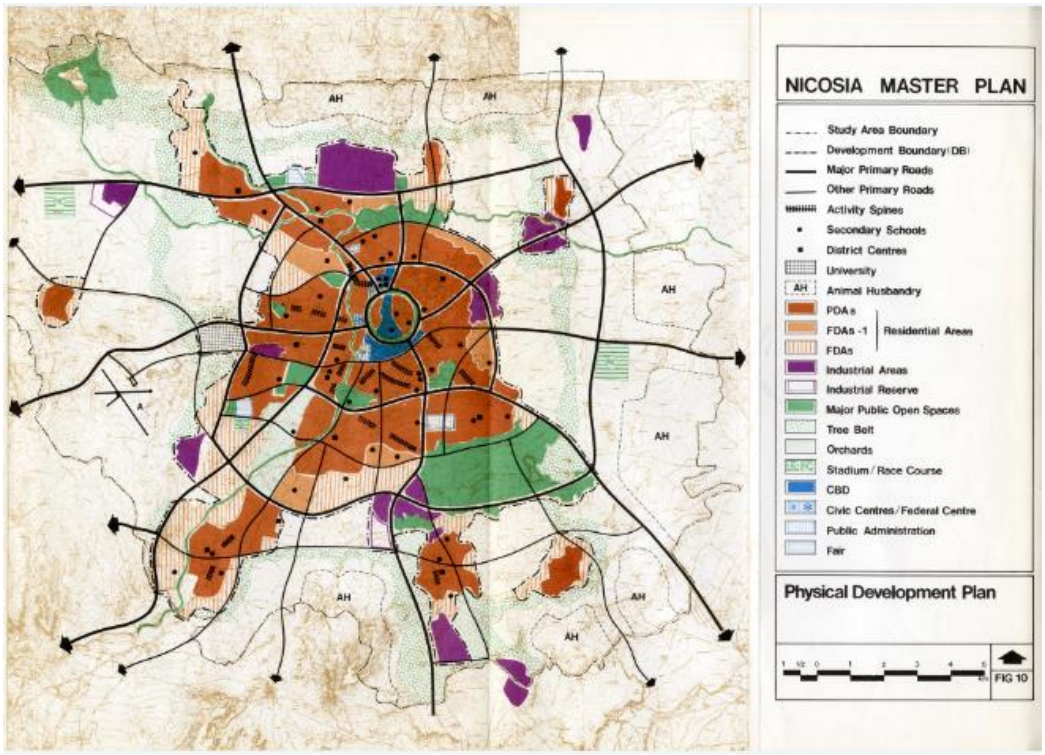

Figure 4.21 : Physical Development Plan of the Nicosia Master Plan (UNDP/UNCHS, 1984).

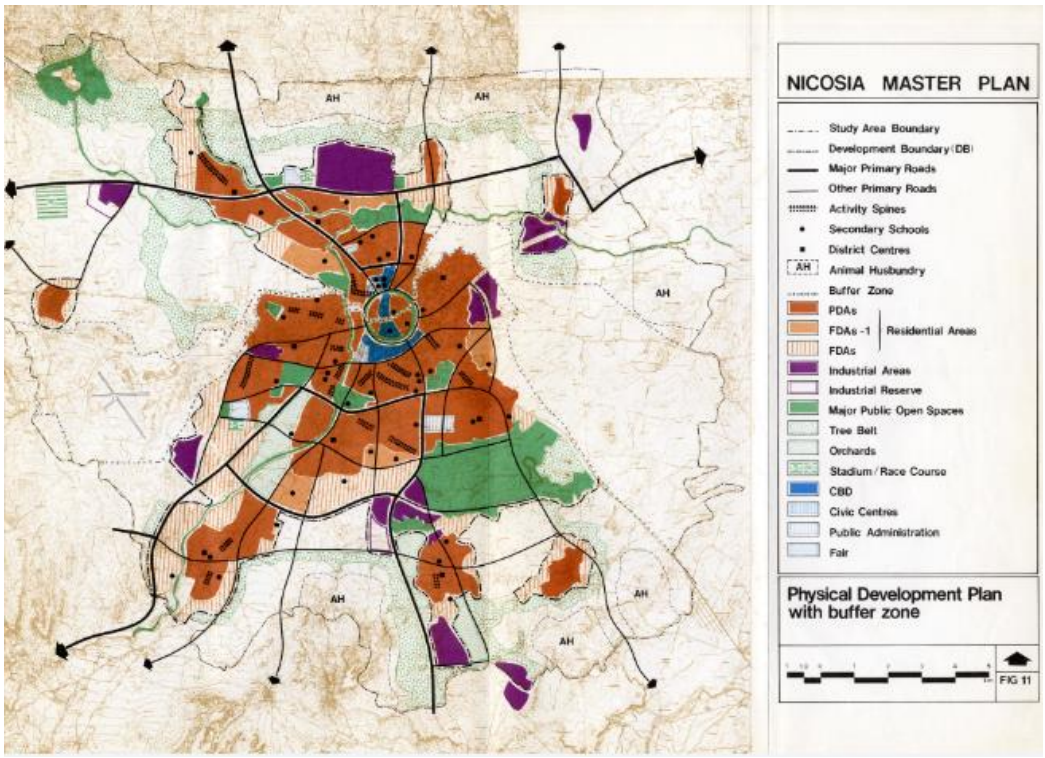

Figure 4.22 : Physical Development Plan with Buffer Zone of the Nicosia Master Plan (UNDP/UNCHS, 1984).

Eventually, this phase focused on a series of pilot projects, both north and the south of the border. The NMP team saw housing as a priority since it brought social, not just economic, revitalisation (Charlesworth, 2006). This is why, first implementation started in 1986 with two housing rehabilitation projects, Chrysaliniotissa in the south, and Arab Ahmet in the north. This twin project was directed at low-middle income groups with the aim of infilling these areas with young families.

Since the NMP adopted a planning horizon of 20 years (1981-2001), another project stemmed in 2003, called New Vision for the Core of Nicosia and concluded with a final report in 2005. It started as "to evaluate the achievements and challenges during the implementation of the NMP and to help update the plan to meet current and future challenges" (UNDP/UNOPS, 2005, p. 1). In its first phase, five scenarios were proposed for action; Social Regeneration; Business Regeneration; Integrated Regeneration; Focus on Multiple Activity; and, Urban Heritage-Based Regeneration. The last one was chosen in the second phase, as it "adopts cultural tourism and education as the 'prime movers' to stimulate future residential and commercial activity" (Hadjichristos, 2006, p. 400). This project is now in the implementation phase, focusing mainly on the Walled City and aims to "search for opportunities to overcome continuing development problems of the Walled City as a unified centre for the rest of Nicosia" (Öztoprak, 2005, p. 21).

Another recent phase (2000-2004) of NMP was to undertake a survey of the Buffer Zone in the Walled City of Nicosia. The aim was to survey the existing buildings' (238 in total) structural conditions and examine possible measure to save the threatened ones (Michael and Flahutez, 2008). The NMP team identifies this area as the most important 'glue' in the functional integration of the city and attains a rich role for it, including vital contemporary functions like universities to bring people together.

As can be seen, implementation phase with various restoration and rehabilitation projects for the walled city has been ongoing since the 80s. Most significant efforts in this regard are; pedestrianisation of commercial areas such as Ledras/Onasagorou Streets in the south, Kyrenia/Arasta Street in the north forming the old business centre of the walled city (Figure 4.23); improvement of public open spaces with construction, redesign and paving of gardens and squares; restoration of architecturally significant buildings which were an important part of cultural and social life of old Nicosia, such

as Büyük Han (Great Inn), Bandabulya (Bazaar) etc.; and, improvement of traffic flow and transportation.

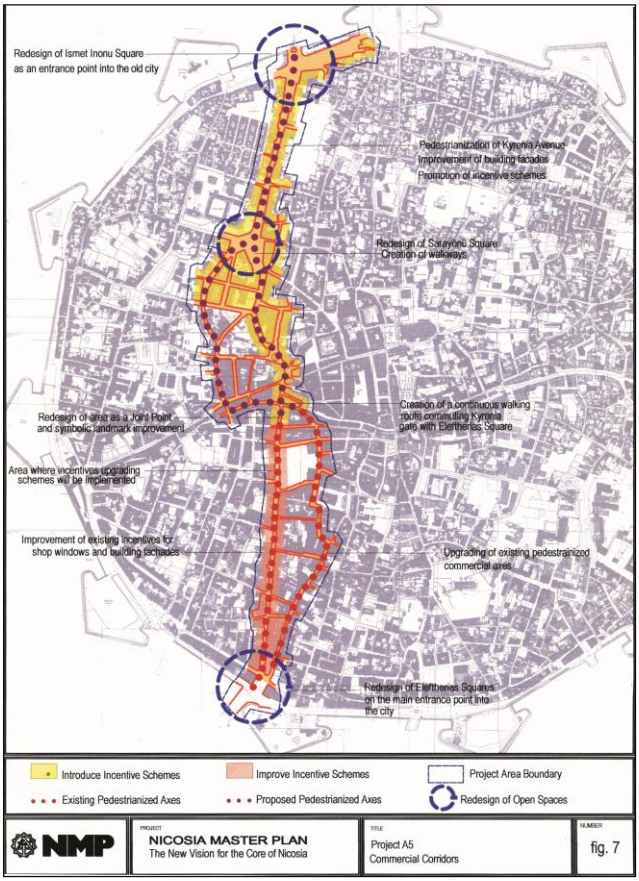

Figure 4.23 : New Vision Project, Commercial Corridors – Ledra and Kyrenia Streets, Nicosia (UNDP/UNOPS, 2005).

These projects have transformed the physical appearance of the city centre. Coupled with the opening up of the Ledra/Lokmacı checkpoint, chain reactions occurred. New bars, restaurants, cultural facilities and other vital urban functions emerged and made a great variety of the population to re-discover this part of the city which was once perceived as a no-go zone.

4.2.3.2 Evaluation of the NMP

As mentioned earlier, NMP is attributed to be a unique specimen for collaborative planning in divided cities. Its main strengths and positive elements are:

- The fact that it is a bi-communal project.
- It is an integrated, multi-disciplinary approach.
- It draws its strength from commitment of the team which is involved.

- It was encouraged by innovative and dedicated main actors (Mustafa Akıncı / Lellos Demetriades), who were supportive and positive throughout.
- The belief that "(…) we were doing something very important for Cyprus. Everything else was secondary" (G. Constantinides, personal communication, March 26, 2013).

Although the plan and its follow-up projects had significant outcomes for the city, there remain some downsides. This evaluation will be attributed to put forward both the positive and the negative sides of the NMP.

First of all, the NMP and following bi-communal projects acted as a means of building confidence between the two communities. Underlying the projects is the idea that; close and systematic technical co-operation can foster new bonds of understanding (UNDP/UNCHS, 1984). Further, they presented another innovative element, the establishment of a permanent collaboration between the Town Planning and Housing Departments and the Nicosia Municipalities on both sides of the divide (Petridou, 2008).

Neutrality of the project was obtained by the inclusion of UNDP and International Consultative Panels that took place in 1981 and 1982. However, while evaluating collaborative planning approach of the NMP, Abu-Orf (2005) reveals that power relations and distortion was actually in effect during the planning process. A point he makes is that concentrating on technical issues foreshadows participants' values, interests and commonalities. Further, the fact that financial contributors are international organisations and that their consultants are effective in the process makes the end-product shaped according to them instead of the locals.

The leverage of international organisations was mostly evident in the twin projects of Arab Ahmet and Chrysaliniotissa. Here, the NMP team wanted to infill these areas with local young families, on the grounds that they would revitalise and conserve the area more effectively than the immigrant residents. However, the international consults did not agree with the notion of displacing the families who were already living there (G. Constantinides, personal communication, March 26, 2013). So for the NMP team, the projects were successful in terms of preservation and restoration, but socially, they were not. "A film set was created by restoration. […] Restoration is only a renovation; it became the ends of our project instead of means" (L. Topcan, personal communication, March 29, 2013).

The issue of power relations and distortion is more pressing when relations between the two sides are considered. Distribution of financial resources for undertaking the projects is one of the examples that can be given for such nuisances. International resources are provided to the two sides according to their population. An interviewee (L. Topcan) asserts that, in contrary to their low population, the north has limited resources and needs more money than the south. "When this issue was brought up in bi-communal meetings, the south rejected this notion and emphasised that they are the majority, and they will get the 80%" (L. Topcan, personal communication, March 29, 2013). Additionally, seemingly very small issues, like street names on common maps, may cause quarrels between the two sides. This is why; bi-communally produced touristic brochures do not include a map (A. Çıralı, personal communication, March 24, 2013).

One of the most significant disadvantages of the NMP is that, on legal terms, it is not binding; it needs to be implemented separately under the legislation of the respective sides. There is no mention of the NMP within any law. In other words, both sectors have to translate the NMP into their own local plans and then implement it. While the preparation of the plan was done together, implementation had to be carried out separately. In such a composition and taking into account that the local plans of both sides were not approved until at least ten years later (1990 for the Greek side and 1999 for the Turkish side), deviations and divergences from the original plan are most likely to occur. Mainly because, with the passage of time, each side was faced with different realities and processes than anticipated at the beginning. Disconnections between the two sides made the NMP blurry and personal interests became pronounced (M. Akıncı, personal communication, March 25, 2013). Bi-communal monitoring, revising and updating of the master plan was not accurate due to the lack of a higher committee to coordinate the process (E. Öztek, personal communication, March 27, 2013) and lack of resources (G. Constantinides, personal communication, March 26, 2013). "The orthodox way of doing this is to have a joint committee of people from the two sides. But we had difficulties in doing that. We had recognition problems" (L. Demetriades, personal communication, March 25, 2013).

Although, the informal attribute of the plan can also be perceived as an advantage since it provides a general framework instead of a 100% implementation obligation (which could have ended in deadlock), other insufficiencies arise from its informality. The

integral and multidimensional strategy, encompassing many financial and social proposals as well as physical ones, was not embraced as a whole.

> Different actors—central, local governments—chose different parts of the NMP and they ran away with it. The component that became very popular because it was action oriented was the projects. But there were other important policies like setting up a revolving fund; making institutional planning and structural planning more flexible. […] The central governments were primarily concerned with zoning, because they want to know how to assess applications for development. […] This is how bureaucracy sees planning. The municipalities were closer to the people and everyday life and they were more interested in the projects. Only the NMP team retained the whole structure. (G. Constantinides, personal communication, March 26, 2013)

As a consequence, the follow-ups of NMP (Second Phase-Revitalisation of the Walled City; New Vision for the Core; Buffer Zone Surveillance) were all physically oriented projects. Even though the projects have helped to create a consciousness for preservation and restored the lost vitality of certain districts, it is possible to observe on-going decay and dereliction in other parts of the Walled City—specifically, right adjacent, or in close proximity to the project areas. The general response to these areas is simply to ignore and to avoid (Bown, 2007), at least for the time being.

The fact that key-policies of a social and financial nature have not been implemented and were set apart has turned the NMP into a totally physical document. At the moment, there is no overall social strategy or economic integration policy and this is attributed to be the most significant downfall of the plan (personal communication with E. Öztek, L. Topcan, G. Constantinides).

Even though the NMP was prepared to address problems of the city without awaiting a peace settlement, its mutual and compatible implementation relies on the political climate (A. Kanlı, personal communication, March 29, 2013). This indicates an important delicacy of the NMP; that it depends on the goodwill of the leaders and commitment of the NMP team members. To elaborate, a planner in the municipality who is also part of the NMP team states that relations between the two sides are "cold" since 2006, when the former mayor of northern Nicosia (Cemal Bulutoğluları) was elected (A. Çıralı, personal communication, March 24, 2013).[3] As exemplified, fluctuations in bi-communal relations are not only affected by top-level politics, but can be caused from any level of the political hierarchy.

[3] The new Mayor's (Kadri Fellahoğlu) attitude is yet to be observed since he was elected during the writing of this research (May 2013).

During the preparation of the NMP, public participation was a new concept. This is the first reason why the NMP was prepared without public participation. The second one is due to the conditions that the NMP was prepared; that even the meetings among the team members were limited greatly. So participation was left to the phase where each side developed their own plans and published them for public consultation.

The NMP can be said to maintain some attributes of Benvenisti's resolver or equity approach, where planners engage in constructive intergroup dialogue (Benvenisti, 1986). But its apolitical nature and technicality also places it into the neutral approach (Bollens, 2002). However, the neutral approach is severely insufficient for a deeply divided city, since it only deals with "fast-track urban rebuilding programmes" (Charlesworth, 2006). In addition, Abu-Orf's examination of the collaborative aspect of the NMP reveals that "informal communication in planning was distorted and […] was used as a cover for essentially political agendas" (Abu-Orf, 2005, p. 56). His conclusion points out to Benvenisti's (1986) partisan approach where claims of parties can become rigid and defensive.

All in all, most of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots interviewed perceive themselves as contributors to a future peace process. They have the belief that important steps have been taken to get Nicosia ready for a future reunification and that this has been done in the name of urban planning. Despite the apolitical attribute of the master plan, they have been involved in a political negotiation process throughout decades. This proves that planning can never be apolitical and neutral. Another, more pronounced inference can be made; planning can be used as a pioneer tool as well as the basis for peaceful living in cities.

4.2.3.3 Planning in the North

Legal framework and administrative structure

Regional socio-economic development policy of the Northern Sector is launched by the State Planning Organisation which is under the authority of the Prime Ministry. On the other hand, spatial planning and urban policy is developed by Town Planning Department (TPD) which works under the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Local Administrations.

After division, some important decisions had to be taken abruptly, since the city was faced with certain conditions blocking its normal functioning. These developments all

occurred without a systematic planning approach. A new regional road, connecting Nicosia to other big cities had to be built, since Nicosia had lost its accessibility from other towns. At the time, it was decided that functions requiring large areas—such as industrial zones, sports facilities and fair/expo zones—would be located on the north of this road, while residential areas would develop towards the south of it (TPD, 2000). Another urgent matter was the accommodation of displaced populations, as well as rural populations coming to Nicosia due to rapid urbanisation. As mentioned before, these people were either placed in former-Greek houses or in newly built public housing estates.

Under normal circumstances, first legislation, then plan is prepared. However, in Cyprus, such a process was not possible. In fact, the bi-communal master plan acted as a trigger for legislative framework to be completed. When the NMP was terminated in 1984, it was not possible to enact it due to the lack of such a legislative framework. Regardless, certain projects were put into action such as the pedestrianisation of Kyrenia Road and Selimiye, several restoration projects and the rehabilitation of Arab Ahmet neighbourhood.

Eventually, in 1989, Development Law was enacted. According to the law;

- A "Country Physical Plan" should be prepared containing policies on; population distribution; development strategies and growth limits of settlements; regional spatial development policies of economic sectors such as industry, commerce etc., transportation, infrastructure and public and social facilities; conservation policies and strategies; financial programs of the investments proposed in the plan.
- "Development Plans" should be prepared in accordance with the Country Physical Plan for the major cities.
- "Environment Plans" should be prepared for specific areas which have significance and needs special treatment because it is under pressure.
- "Priority Area Plan" should be prepared for areas sheltering urgent and concentrated problems within the Development Plan areas.
- "Mandates" are implemented in areas where there is rapid development but no Development Plan, until a Development Plan is prepared for the area.

When this law was enacted, legal framework of Northern Cyprus's planning framework was established for the first time. Even though the first step to form a holistic planning approach is to start from country level planning, this was not the

course taken in Northern Cyprus. Instead, local Development Plans were prepared first and the Country Physical Plan is only recently (2013) completed.

Development Plan for Nicosia was not enacted until 2001 and went through 5-year revisions until the last one was prepared in 2012 (Figure 4.24). Before 2001, main planning decisions were taken by Mandates. The Development Law authorizes TPD as the authority in charge for the preparation of all the above mentioned plans.

In this centralised structure, the local municipality has no power or money to carry out any kind of planning procedures. The municipality is generally concerned with projects, which are mainly concentrated on the daily wellbeing of urban citizens and the city. Examples could be pedestrianisation projects, restoration and rehabilitation projects and the like—which in the case of Nicosia are mainly internationally funded, bi-communal projects. However, it is on the level of municipalities where bi-communal interactions occur. The municipality has a NMP team, composed of three members who are urban planners and architects (A. Çıralı, personal communication, March 24, 2013). The members of the team are not only responsible for the NMP, but are registered for other duties within the municipality. They carry out NMP duties only when there is a request or an on-going project.

The legal and administrative structure of planning in Northern Cyprus is based on the Town and Country Planning Law (TCPL) prepared in 1972 (before division), which was inspired by the English planning system; and this approach is harmonised by the Turkish planning system.

Nicosia Development Plan

Nicosia Development Plan, prepared by the TPD in 2001 and revised in 2005, 2009 and 2012, contains only the northern sector of the city (Figure 4.24). The line between the North and the South is shown in the legend as the "Country Line" and it coincides with the Development Boundary, where the jurisdiction of the plan ends. According to the head chief of the department "When we are making plans, we take the buffer zone as our own; the boundary of the country takes the buffer zone inside it. […] It is the same on the Greek side. This is why; the Greek sector Local Plan encompasses Alaköy and Kermiya as their territory" (L. Topcan, personal communication, March 29, 2013). This boundary was drawn together during the NMP process (E. Öztek, personal communication, March 27, 2013), leaving out the de-confrontation zone (the

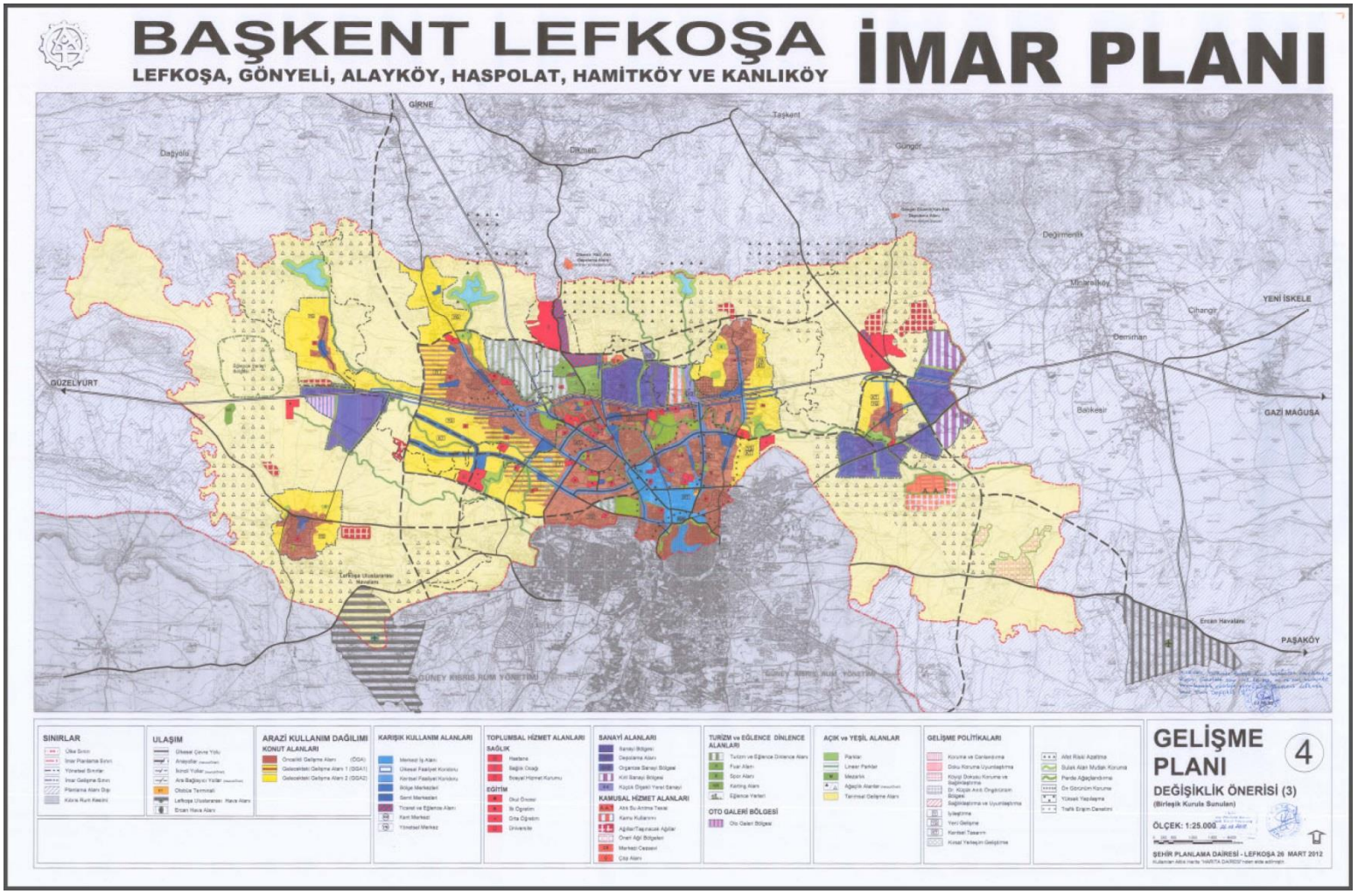

Figure 4.24 : Nicosia Development Plan, 2012 (TPD, 2012)

zone vacated by Turkish and Greek military) to prevent conflict.

The South is left blank, with only some roads which are suddenly cut. But, these roads were kept as they were proposed under the NMP to ensure a continuance in case of reunification. The south is labelled as "South Cyprus Greek Administration" since the development border coincides with the country boundary as well as the administrative border of Nicosia.

In the plan report, the NMP is stated as the predecessor, or in other words, the first step of this plan. There are some policies which directly refer to a sort of future reunification or agreement. For example, the old Nicosia Airport, which remains in the Buffer Zone, is demonstrated in the plan and its transportation links are arranged. There are other references to the future of the city, like "in accordance with the role the capital city of Nicosia will undertake in Cyprus's political future". The plan is prepared in the light of the NMP, following a very similar content structure as well as its aim of concentration and consolidation. Division is taken into account while evaluating opportunities, potentials and strengths, as well as main constraints of the city.

This shows that it not possible to totally ignore the reality of division and act neutrally. It is possible to evaluate the Development Plan as a translation of the NMP into legal planning framework.

4.2.3.4 Planning in the South

Legal framework and administrative structure

Economic regional development policy in Southern Sector is developed by the Planning Bureau which operates under the Ministry of Finance. Spatial planning and urban policy on the other hand, rests with the Ministry of Interior, which delegated Department of Town Planning and Housing (DTPH) as the authority to develop plans.

After division in 1974, existing laws (Streets and Building Regulation Law of 1946 and Town and Country Planning Law of 1972) were suspended. The biggest problem that the southern sector faced was the accommodation of displaced peoples. In order to address this problem, immediate actions were taken without any systematic planning approach or urban policy. However, instead of offering solutions, these estates lead to even bigger problems in the future since; physically and socially low quality housing

estates were built urgently on quality agricultural land without any environmental concerns and sheltered functional contradictions (Alpar, 2004). Regardless, in two years after division, around 1976, accommodation of the displaced was resolved. With the construction boom and increasing touristic potential of the island, pressure on the environment increased. Planning authority did not have the necessary controls over procedures and an income oriented development took place.

In 1978, a Planning Board was established under the Ministry of Interior, which was responsible for the implementation of the TCPL. This Board prepared development plans for four main cities (Nicosia, Limasol, Larnaca, Baphos). However, it was not until 1990 that the Law was enacted. So, as in the case of the Northern Sector, the plans came before the laws. According to the law which was approved by the Parliament in 1972 but enacted in 1990 due to division, the following plans are to be prepared by the DTPH;

- The "Island Plan"; that outlines a broad national spatial planning strategy at regional level, linked with overall national economic and social policy. Regional distribution of the population; regional level spatial development policies of economic sectors such as industry, commerce etc.; designation of protection areas; and regional transportation networks and other public services are main subjects of the Island Plan.
- "Local Plans"; should be prepared in accordance with the aims and purposes of the Island Plan for the major cities; areas of exceptional importance or areas undergoing intensive development pressures and rapid physical development.
- "Area Schemes"; involves smaller geographic areas than Local Plans, which are prepared in much more detail and which are project-oriented.
- "Policy Statement for the Countryside"; includes areas where a Local Plan is not active.

In contrast to the Northern Sector, and Island Plan for the whole of Cyprus was not prepared. The mandatory obligation in TCPL for preparing an Island Plan was amended on the grounds that preparation of such a plan was unfeasible due to division. The four Local Plans mentioned before have been amended three times to date, and the last one for Nicosia was prepared in 2012 (Figure 4.25). Area Schemes are where the bi-communal projects find a way to be formally implemented.

A highly centralised administrative structure, similar to that of the north, is evident in the south. All the above mentioned plans and policies are prepared at the national level

by the central government. However, it could be said that a more decentralised structure is evident, since planning authority is delegated to the District Offices of the Department in the four major urban clusters. Local municipal governments are responsible for provision of local services and implementation of municipal projects as in the north (Demetriou, 2004). The duties and powers of municipalities show great resemblance with the northern sector. Another resemblance is that there exists a NMP Team within the municipality.

Nicosia Local Plan

The first local plan was published in 1990 and amended in 1996, 2000, 2003, 2009 and 2012 (Figure 4.25). The document contains only the southern sector of the city, referred to as "the government controlled part of Nicosia". The border separating the north and the south is labelled as the "Administrative Boundary", and the "Boundary of the Local Plan Area". The Administrative Boundary is drawn to include the northern sector as well; the red line continues as if there is no buffer zone, but remains white/empty in the inside, which means that no decisions are taken for that part of the city (they remain outside the Local Plan Area Boundary). The part of the Administrative Boundary that extends to the other side is Nicosia's border before division; it has been expanded in the northern sector.

On the other hand, some parts of the northern sector are included in the Plan's Local Plan Area Boundary (Alayköy and Kermia). As explained before, both sides take the Buffer Zone as their own territory, and hence may encompass some parts which actually remain in the other side.

The other side remains blank as was the case on the Northern Sector's plan. However, there are no references or labels to the other side's status. An additional difference can be observed in the way that the roads are handled. Here, the roads daringly stretch into the north, ending with arrows which imply a continuance. Again, these roads are bi-communally decided roads from the NMP.

In the plan report, it is stated that the NLP is prepared in accordance with the NMP. For instance, objectives of NLP is based on the following statement "southern quarter's future must be driven by redevelopment more than new development" (Demetriou, 2004) which represents the NMP's main aim of consolidation and concentration. Specific references are given to division, with a solid emphasis that the

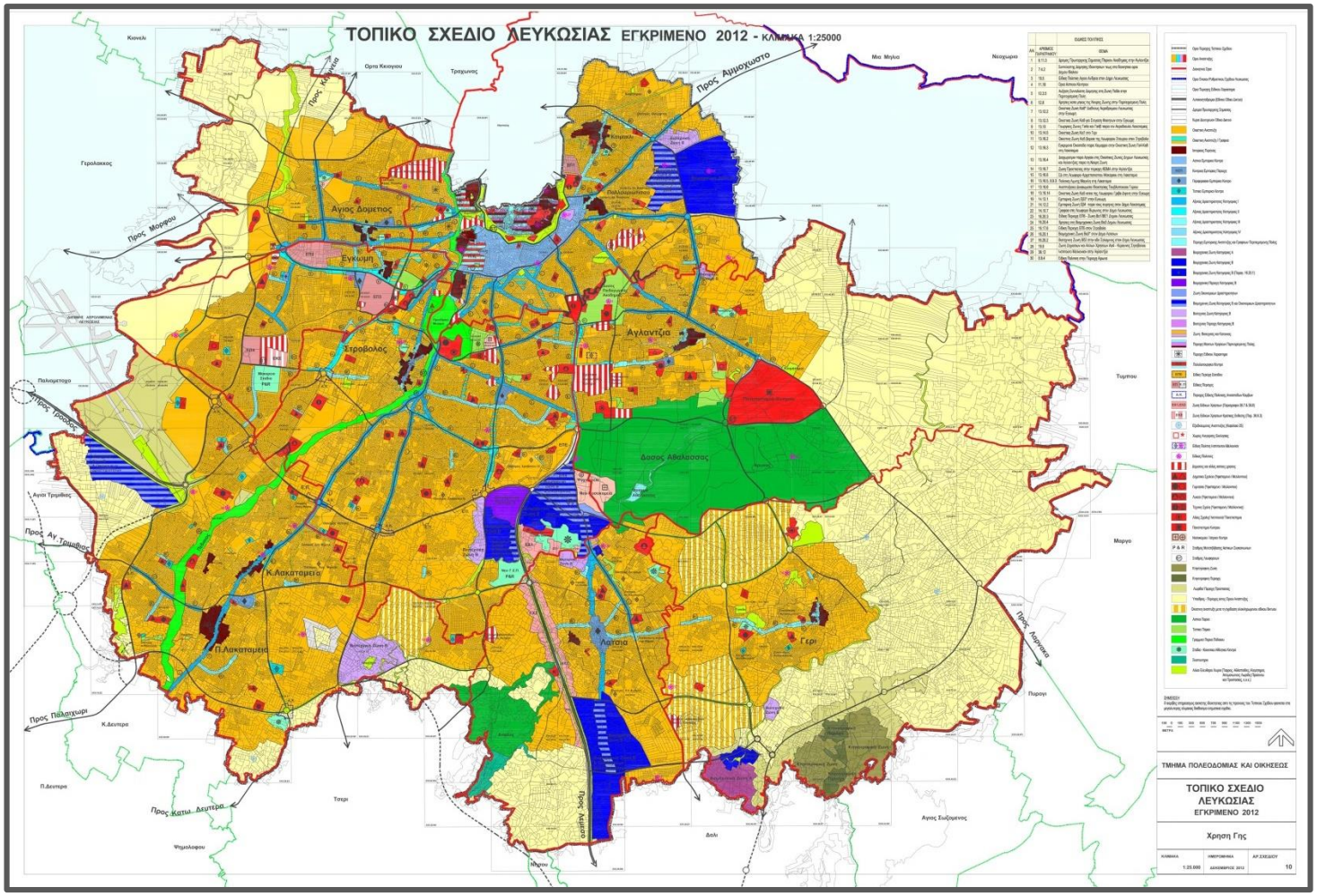

Figure 4.25 : Nicosia Local Plan, 2012 (DTPH, 2012)

north is “not controlled by the government”, “Turkish occupied territories” and the like, representing the discourse of the RoC. The belief that this situation is provisional can be inferred from all the policies generated. For example, it is stated that, “In case of suppression of the buffer zone, the Local Plan will be placed immediately under revision and its limits will be extended so that they include the entire Nicosia Urban Area” (Demetriou, 2004, p. 245).

4.2.3.5 Evaluation of planning in the North and South

Examination of spatial planning and urban policy approaches on both sides reveals that there are more similarities than differences.

First of all, on both sides; laws could not be effectively implemented until 1990s, causing uncontrolled and unplanned urban development. So between 1974 and 1990s, urban development was unbounded on both sides. Even under normal circumstances, this type of development could lead to chaotic urban structure. But adding on to this was the reality of division; causing even more unimagined urban development processes.

Secondly, as the interviews have evidenced, neither the North nor the South seems to have developed a communicative relationship between different levels of planning administration. Although municipalities constitute the form of local government in both cities, their operations are constrained due to limited funds and power, since the income comes predominantly from the central budget (Oktay, 2007). This fact is more evident in the North where the municipality appears to be less independent.

Third, planning legislation on both sides show significant similarities since both are based on 1972 TCPL. This is a positive aspect, because it implies that similar policies are developed. Preparation of “Mandates” in the Northern Sector and “Policy Statement for the Countryside” in the Southern Sector are an example for parallel policy development. These policies are actually a direct result of division; they grew out of the fact that both the north and the south could not prepare a holistic country plan right after division due to prevailing uncertainty. In this sense, they were practical policy tools for planning authorities.

In any case, the fact that TCPL is based on British planning system does not imply that it is as successful. This can be attributed to many reasons but most important ones are; 1| the planning system is not a policy-based strategic document as in Britain, but rather

a set of rules to regulate physical development, 2| there is lack of supervision and control in implementation processes, 3| instead of guarding communal interests as in Britain, personal interests are mostly determinant in decision-making processes.

The third point is quite significant in Cyprus. Approach to planning on both sides is dominated by the private sector and market-driven economy. Even though this is an acknowledged fact, market-forces are not integrated and private sector is not involved within the process of planning and urban management (L. Topcan, personal communication, March 29, 2013). Neglecting to apply this framework to planning via operationalising planning tools is a major problem on both sides of the city.

The individual oriented and entrepreneur minded Cypriots tend to focus on individual assets and plots rather than communal wellbeing (UNDP/UNCHS, 1984). So apart from private interests dominating urban development, this brings challenges for providing public participation to planning processes (G. G. Constantinides, personal communication, March 26, 2013). Even though both sides have public participation processes obligated by laws, the rejections are generally oriented towards personal interests. The North has a consultation phase of 42 days, the South has 8 months. Despite the difference in time for rejection, objections are similar.

A visible difference between the two sides is the way one regards the other while making their plans: the way they draw their boundaries and roads; the way they label and represent the other side; and the way they refer to each other in planning documents. In the Northern Sector, the south is shown as a different country; a country boundary is drawn and the areas beyond it are shown in grey, labelled as a different administration, and there is no continuance of the boundaries or the roads. On the other hand, the South includes some parts of the north, the boundaries carry on to the North and if ever the buffer zone was to be removed, reunification would be achieved seamlessly. Several explanations have been provided by the interviews regarding this subject (personal communication with E. Öztek, L. Topcan and G. Constantinides). However, in more generic terms, this distinction can be ascribed to the different political discourses spearheaded in their respective central governments. As stated earlier; the North regards the division as a result of a "peace operation" to provide safety and security, and treats its existence as permanent. On the other hand, the South regards division as a result of "military occupation" which caused a portion of the country to become uncontrolled by the government, and hence regards its existence as

temporary. The fact that the North prepared a Country Plan, but the South retains to do so can also be explained by the difference in policy-discourses. For the South, the island is not a whole; hence an island plan is not feasible.

Another difference appears less visible to the eye; it is about the operation and organisation capacities of planning systems. On the one hand, we have the Republic of Cyprus, an economically developed member of the EU. On the other hand, we have the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, financially dependent and formally recognised only by Turkey. Such a fundamental difference leads to incompatibilities between the two sides on a great variety of topics, and planning is no exception. An explicit example is how daily politics—private interests, individual relationships, and favouritism—are very effective in urban development in the north. As an interviewee stated; "In the North, a previous project funded by the EU was cancelled just because a single tradesman [who had close relationships with a top-tier administrator] said no. In the south, you cannot do this because politics is more powerful and steady" (A. Çıralı, personal communication, March 24, 2013). Regardless, as stated earlier, the South shelters similar problems in planning processes, on a lesser scale.

All in all, contribution of the NMP to planning process on the island cannot be ignored. NMP has made it easier for the administrations to acknowledge division, and act in accordance with it. Nevertheless, division has caused both communities to live and cope with their problems on their own. Cooperation between the two sides remains within municipal administrations during the implementation of bi-communal physical projects. Even this on-going and long-standing relationship between the municipalities' NMP teams is fragile in nature. It depends on the Mayors' personal attitudes. On the governmental scale, between the TPD and DTPH, cooperation is next to nothing. Meetings are arranged informally and only if one side needs something, since they don't perceive the need to talk to each other.

Nicosia is not like other cities examined in this research. In Nicosia, 1| division cannot be ignored since it is dramatically apparent, long-standing, taken for granted and perceived as "normal", 2| the existence of NMP sets a shiny example and acts as a milestone to be reached, eases and paves the way to cooperation and perceiving the city as "one". While the first point seems to hinder planning processes, the second one empowers it on an unexpected level. Such power and fame held by a plan is not a frequently encountered issue. This is why both division and NMP are very important

parts of planning processes in the North and the South, even though they are not believed to be so. Not only today, but also in the future, these two aspects will always be very important parts of planning in Nicosia.

4.3 Evaluation of Nicosia: The Past and Present

When Nicosia came to existence, it was a single city. Intervention to its organic development rendered the city to be divided in half and lose its 'wholeness'. Subsequently, the city grew as two parts. However, knowing that the city's evolution is based on its nature of principally being a 'whole' is promising. In essence, it is a single city, acting as if it was two cities. Therefore, conclusions drawn from this section will illuminate how the essence of wholeness can be gained once more, if division was to be abruptly eliminated.

It is worth emphasising that in Cyprus, people always considered themselves as separate. The two belonged to different nations, spoke different languages and only had the shared experience of living in the same space. Instead of a single Cypriot identity, they generally identified themselves as Turks and Greeks. In this atmosphere, Turks were the minority population. As we have seen from multicultural examples of this thesis, minority populations have two options: First, to aspire for statehood, and second to assimilate. For mutual benefit, usually the latter is the taken course of action. But in case of divided cities, this is not the same as, say the British assimilation experience. Britain is not composed of separate communities, but rather of individuals from different communities who accepted British citizenship. In Cyprus then, the problem is to deal with the question of what happens when the ruled are not a homogeneous group but instead belong to two opposing nations. The fact that Cyprus has been dominated by great forces of the world like the Byzantines, Ottomans and British throughout its history delayed the challenges this problem presented. And when the last dominating power left the island for good, the inevitable conflict surfaced.

In this framework, the two communities who lived in homogeneous neighbourhoods for the most part in their history were doing this on voluntary terms. So congregations before 1956 were formed according to *voluntary segregation*. With the Mason-Dixon Line, in 1956, the mental borders of the residents started to materialize. Borders of the *enclaves* were now more lucid, and their permeability was less. However, the city still resembled a single whole where plurality and cultural differences formed its essence.

Starting from 1960s, the enclavement process was now turning into *polarisation*. This implies that even administrative and commercial functions were now starting to be divided. In 1963, a clear boundary was drawn, two administrations were formed and the former natural border of the city (the Pedios River) was now a political boundary. So after 1963, Nicosia was a *divided city*. The city started to function as a dual system, and the two sectors developed their own city centres and the like to function as one. However, the Turks were still administratively and economically dependent on the Greeks. It was not until 1974 that this also terminated, and Nicosia came to its last stop, *deeply divided city*.

Nicosia played the most important role throughout the division process. This was mainly because it was the capital. After independence, attempts to establish the city on national values, led to destruction of the city's "wholeness", and the city began to decay. This decay is not necessarily only in terms of structure (roads, infrastructure etc.), but also in terms of functions (capital city functions, commercial areas etc.).

Today, Nicosia is structurally two cities (*Lefkoşa* and *Λευκωσία*), which are connected only via sewerage system and three gates. Water flows through the first, and people through the second. Nicosia has been living and functioning in such a condition for forty years, and each of its parts learned to cope with the situation by itself. But the city is not doing as well as their residents think it is; it losing its essence, identity and character as a city. Because, "the whole is more than the sum of its parts" (Bertalanffy, 1950), and Nicosia is more than *Lefkoşa* and *Λευκωσία*.

What we learn from Nicosia's past and present for the aim of this research is that:

- Each part / subsystem of the divided city has self-organised to adapt to the environment they have been subject to. As e result, they have evolved quite independently. As a result, each part has achieved a steady state / biotic balance which makes the respective parts appear self-sufficient.
- As divided city examples of this research has shown, Nicosia, which progressed from wholeness to independence, can be subject to a reversed process; from independence to wholeness. In Hall's (1973) terms, this requires strengthening pre-existing relations among the parts/subsystems (which have been exemplified with Berlin in the preceding chapter). If this process is accompanied by progressive centralization—in this case, while the system is

evolving, Nicosia emerges as the central, controlling agency—a small change in the leading part can be reflected throughout the system. This has been the case throughout the history of the city, as progressive factorisation was taking place. It can be used for progressive systematisation.

- The Buffer Zone can be revived as a natural border, as it once was (i.e. river). Alexander (1977) suggests naturalised borders while studying how subcultures can live together. He asserts that all urban communities are divided by natural or man-made borders which ensures the existence of harmonic mosaic of subcultures.

- As a provision of "dependence on initial conditions" attribute of systems; the Alexander's (1977) mosaic of subcultures, which existed before division as Turkish, Greek and mixed neighbourhoods, can be achieved once more without facing serious objections from the community. Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011) is in the same vein when they suggest that shared spaces have to be created while the communities live within soft boundaries.

- The NMP has surpassed the challenge of collaborative planning in divided cities that is managing multiple and rival publics. The NMP Team believed that they had a shared future when they were working across the divide. To achieve this shared future, as Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011) put it, the aim should shift from *managing* to *transforming* the division. In this framework, main shortcomings of the NMP (lack of higher committee, socio-economical polices etc.) has to be dealt with. The new planning approach to be proposed for Nicosia should build on to the valuable foundation that NMP has created.

The following chapter aims to assess these issues in detail by comparing Nicosia to other case studies and proposing a planning approach to answer the needs of divided cities in general and Nicosia in particular.

5. COMPARISON AND A PLANNING APPROACH PROPOSAL FOR NICOSIA

Within the framework of this research, multicultural and divided cities have been compared in order to propose a planning approach for divided cities in general, and Nicosia in particular. In this section, first a comprehensive summary and evaluation of the results will be presented to facilitate the comparison of other case studies with Nicosia. Following this, a planning approach will be proposed for Nicosia, which builds on to the results obtained from this analysis as well as relative theoretical work.

5.1 Lessons from Multicultural and Divided Cities

In this section, key findings procured from the analysis of MC and DCs will be evaluated through Nicosia. A systematic foundation has been prepared to achieve such a comparison. Fact sheets consisting of basic pros-cons lists that incorporate characteristic attributes, valid actions / interventions, and valid policies having direct impact on urban integration are drawn for each city (Figures 5.1 to 5.10). By using such a method, elements which can be interpreted as positive and negative for urban integration can be observed explicitly. Consequently, we will be able to; discern between good and bad examples; take hints for effective usage of planning; and decide what type of action is more successful. These fact sheets can be acknowledged as opportunities and constraints, which are sought after during a planning activity. Such a result-oriented approach will facilitate sketching a compatible matrix of case studies and relate it to Nicosia, determining what to enable and what to avoid in a planning approach.

The following figures should be interpreted as city-specific conclusions drawn from the comparative analysis. The first four represent multicultural cities (Figures 5.1 to 5.4).

New York City Pros & Cons

Pros	Cons
(Pros-1) Multicultural city	**(Cons-1)** Historical segregation
(Pros-2) Embracing qualified immigrants	**(Cons-2)** Problematic subculture boundaries
(Pros-3) Shift to pluralistic view	**(Cons-3)** Segregation perceived as economic
(Pros-4) Policies against discrimination	**(Cons-4)** Suburbs are white-dominant
(Pros-5) Strong local administration	**(Cons-5)** Planning is ethnically unconscious
(Pros-6) Integration of degraded areas	
(Pros-7) Geographically targeted approaches	
(Pros-8) Meeting local demands	

(Pros-1) Due to its global character and international setting, the city provides a multicultural structure which makes it easier for different cultures to live together, with greater tolerance to each other.

(Pros-2) Qualified immigrants are welcomed into the country and perceived as a stronghold for economic development and diversity. These are significant attributes of global cities and developed countries.

(Pros-3) Shift from assimilationist approach to a more pluralistic view reinforces the preservation of cultural traits of different subculture groups and permits different subculture groups to live according to their own aspirations within the nexus of co-existence.

(Pros-4) The existence of solid federal policies against discrimination facilitates co-existence and promotes equity on the local level (Fair Housing Act, Integration Maintenance Program).

(Pros-5) Local administration is strong and independent due to its long-standing history.

(Pros-6) Not only residential but also commercial regeneration programs economically integrate areas like Harlem into the city and society (Ten Year Housing Program).

(Pros-7) Existence of geographically targeted approaches which focus on areas with higher needs tackles deprivation and enhances urban living environments.

(Pros-8) Specific social/urban facilities are supplied via planning decisions to meet differing local demands of subculture groups.

(Cons-1) Historical discrimination in housing and real estate policies has caused different subculture groups to traditionally locate according to these policies.

(Cons-2) Long-standing segmentation of subculture groups has caused subculture boundaries to become less penetrable and more problematic. Each neighbourhood is renown with a certain ethnic group and there are high levels of segregation in every borough of the city.

(Cons-3) Segregation is perceived as an economic/class-based problem and is addressed via affordable housing or physical rehabilitation projects (slum clearance etc.). Social or neighbourhood integration is not dealt with.

(Cons-4) Suburbanization is generally a white phenomenon (White flight) which implies that socio-economic differences within the society are layered with ethnic ones.

(Cons-5) PlaNYC (2011) remains neutral to subculture groups, segregation, discrimination and integration in any of its main policies.

Figure 5.1 : Fact Sheet – New York City

London Pros & Cons

Pros		Cons	
(Pros-1)	Multicultural city	**(Cons-1)**	Deep-rooted centralization
(Pros-2)	Embracing qualified immigrants	**(Cons-2)**	Multicultural living under scrutiny
(Pros-3)	Pluralistic view – organic multiculturalism	**(Cons-3)**	Shift from organic to conservative multiculturalism
(Pros-4)	Dispersed subculture groups		
(Pros-5)	Penetrable subculture boundaries		
(Pros-6)	Provision of equity schemes		
(Pros-7)	Ethnically mixed public housing		
(Pros-8)	Planning is ethnically conscious		
(Pros-9)	Meeting local demands		
(Pros-10)	Neighbourhood planning		
(Pros-11)	Mapping local communities		
(Pros-12)	Integration and cohesion teams		
(Pros-13)	Local contracts		
(Pros-14)	Financial support to localities		
(Pros-15)	Geographically targeted approaches		

(Pros-1) Due to its global character and international setting, the city provides a multicultural structure which makes it easier for different cultures to live together, with greater tolerance to each other.

(Pros-2) Qualified immigrants are welcomed into the country and perceived as a stronghold for economic development and diversity. These are significant attributes of global cities and developed countries.

(Pros-3) Integration is viewed as; engagement with other groups while preserving some distinctive cultural traits. This pluralist perspective of the government permits different subculture groups to live according to their own aspirations within the nexus of co-existence. It has also helped the organic development of multiculturalism.

(Pros-4) Subculture groups are dispersed throughout the metropolitan area, including the suburbs, mainly due to the individual preferences and pre-immigration statuses being effective when choosing place to live.

(Pros-5) Subculture boundaries are penetrable; nourishing inter-cultural relations.

(Pros-6) Provision of equity schemes guaranties equal treatment to subculture groups in urban issues such as housing and urban renewal projects.

(Pros-7) As a consequence of (Pro-6), public housing is ethnically mixed and minorities have more say in housing choices.

(Pros-8) The London Plan (2011) includes ethnically conscious strategies to satisfy the needs and expectations of different subculture groups.

(Pros-9) Specific social/urban facilities are supplied via planning decisions to meet differing local demands of subculture groups.

(Pros-10) The concept of Neighbourhood Planning (Localism Act, 2011) permits local communities to not only participate, but also produce their own plans.

(Pros-11) Local communities are advised to map their local communities in order to better understand their needs (Our Shared Future, 2007).

(Pros-12) The proposal to establish specialist integration and cohesions teams to advise local authority leaders on particular local issues and challenges can strengthen local authorities when dealing with diversity (Our Shared Future, 2007).

(Pros-13) The recommendation to sign local contracts can become resourceful to determine the responsibilities of different actors and to set out acceptable and non-acceptable behaviours (Our Shared Future, 2007).

(Pros-14) Provision of financial resources to areas receiving new immigration (Crossing Borders, 2007) is a means of accepting the significance of local level on issues of immigration.

(Pros-15) Existence of geographically targeted approaches (Neighbourhood Renewal Unit) which focus on areas with higher needs, tackles deprivation, and enhances urban living environments.

(Cons-1) Deep-rooted centralization makes the city financially dependent on the central government. Localism Act (2011) took effect to balance central and local governments.

(Cons-2) Multiculturalism as a concept is recently under scrutiny due to London Bombings 2005, riots and protests.

(Cons-3) Multiculturalism policy is also criticised as it is no longer regarded as organic but rather conservative. The shift in discourse of the latest two London Plans (2004-2011) is a case in point.

Figure 5.2 : Fact Sheet – London

Paris Pros & Cons

Pros	Cons
(Pros-1) Multicultural city	**(Cons-1)** Deep-rooted centralization
(Pros-2) Embracing qualified immigrants	**(Cons-2)** Exclusionary urban policies – problematic subculture boundaries
(Pros-3) Geographically targeted approaches	**(Cons-3)** Degredation of *banlieues*
(Pros-4) Tackling marginalization of the *banlieues*	**(Cons-4)** Segregation perceived as economic
(Pros-5) Socio-economical mixing approaches	**(Cons-5)** Assimilationist view – single identity
(Pros-6) Connecting the City and *banlieues*	**(Cons-6)** Planning is ethnically unconscious

(Pros-1) Due to its global character and international setting, the city provides a multicultural structure which makes it easier for different cultures to live together, with greater tolerance to each other.

(Pros-2) Qualified immigrants are welcomed into the country and perceived as a stronghold for economic development and diversity. These are significant attributes of global cities and developed countries.

(Pros-3) Existence of geographically targeted approaches (Neighbourhood Renewal Unit) which focus on areas with higher needs, tackles deprivation, and enhances urban living environments.

(Pros-4) Programs targeted at tackling the marginalization of the *banlieues* have inspired other projects for urban revitalization in the area (Banlieues 89).

(Pros-5) Certain steps are taken to create socio-economically mixed housing estates (SRU law: 20% of new housing estates have to be devoted to social housing), which can eventually lead to ethnically mixed neighbourhoods. However, there are problems in implementation; no monitoring.

(Pros-6) With the Grand Paris 2008 Plan, the banlieues (inner belt) have been re-thought as part of the City of Paris, in the context of a metropolitan region, resulting in a transportation master plan connecting the two historically separate parts.

(Cons-1) There is an overtly centralized structure which weakens local administrations. The City of Paris and *Petite Couronne* (inner belt) are not administered together even though their relations form the urban community of Paris.

(Cons-2) *Banlieues* shelter deprived portions of the society who are generally immigrants pushed away from the City of Paris due to historical urban development patterns and exclusionary housing policies (HLMs). The City and the banlieues have been further alienated by big road projects (Bd. Péripherique). By not treating Paris as a whole (excluding the inner belt) and selecting priority neighbourhoods on an economic basis, holistic approaches to the city have been insufficient and certain areas have been labelled as problematic. Immigrants are spatially, socially and economically estranged and polarized.

(Cons-3) The *banlieues* are neglected parts of the city defined by low living-standards due to deteriorating housing conditions, insufficient green areas and social facilities, and low connectivity.

(Cons-4) Segregation is perceived as an economic/class-based problem and is addressed via public housing (HLMs) and urban rehabilitation (priority areas) projects.

(Cons-5) Integration is perceived as assimilation into the mainstream; since integration policies are non-ethnic and single identity is pronounced. However, in reality, assimilation is not working as anticipated, and ignoring this causes big problems such as frustrations, neglected neighbourhoods and poor residents.

(Cons-6) Planning is ethnically unconscious: Planning remains neutral to subculture groups, segregation, discrimination and integration in any of its main policies.

Figure 5.3 : Fact Sheet – Paris

Singapore Pros & Cons

Pros	Cons
(Pros-1) Multicultural city	**(Cons-1)** Forceful integration – assimilation
(Pros-2) City-state	**(Cons-2)** Government controlled settlement
(Pros-3) Multiculturalism is constitutionally affirmed	**(Cons-3)** Unnatural segregation
(Pros-4) Embracing qualified immigrants	**(Cons-4)** Superficial integration
(Pros-5) National subculture groups – organic multiculturalism	
(Pros-6) Influential and powerful planning	
(Pros-7) Very low segregation – high integration	

(Pros-1) Due to its global character and international setting, the city provides a multicultural structure which makes it easier for different cultures to live together, with greater tolerance to each other.

(Pros-2) Being a city-state is beneficiary in financial and administrative terms.

(Pros-3) Multiculturalism is constitutionally affirmed, resulting in every urban policy and planning procedure to be ethnically-conscious.

(Pros-4) Qualified immigrants are welcomed into the country and perceived as a stronghold for economic development and diversity. These are significant attributes of global cities and developed countries.

(Pros-5) The fact that subculture groups are actually national minorities has helped the organic development of multiculturalism.

(Pros-6) Housing policies (quota policy) are effectively used as a social engineering tool for integration and the formation of a single identity. This proves that planning is more influential than it is generally accredited to be.

(Pros-7) Quota policy in housing has resulted in the decrease of segregation and increase in integration for the last 40 years since its activation.

(Cons-1) Integration is attained forcefully (with the quota policy), hence resulting in assimilation into a single national identity. This approach ignores preferences of individuals.

(Cons-2) Individual preferences are further ignored due to the fact that the government owns 85% of the housing stock; inevitably controlling the bulk of settlement patterns with the quota policy and forcing integration onto its residents.

(Cons-3) Dictating individuals where to live has caused a different type of segregation within the city-state, specifically on the secondary housing market.

(Cons-4) Integration remains superficial which means that even though physical integration is achieved, social integration is not.

Figure 5.4 : Fact Sheet – Singapore

The following four figures (Figures 5.5 to 5.8) represent the lessons drawn from divided cities. As can be observed from MC fact sheets, the object is to use a common language in order to link all cities and form a comprehensive framework. This is why the following figures are also presented using the same terms.

Belfast Pros & Cons

Pros	Cons
(Pros-1) Hyper-segregation – unitary city	**(Cons-1)** Hyper-segregation – illusion of normalcy
(Pros-2) Scenarios approach	**(Cons-2)** Neutral planning – acceptance of division
(Pros-3) Embarking community cohesion	**(Cons-3)** Fragmented, road-dominated city-scape – burden on urban economy
(Pros-4) Public, private, community partnerships*	**(Cons-4)** Inefficient transportation network–cul-de-sacs
(Pros-5) Facilitating the removal of physical barriers*	**(Cons-5)** Duplication of urban facilities – burden on urban economy
(Pros-6) Promoting the development of shared places*	
(Pros-7) Revitalizing the role of town centres*	
(Pros-8) Developing major employment areas*	
(Pros-9) Improving public transport*	
(Pros-10) Strengthening cultural heritage sites*	**Urban policies which have been identified within the Regional Development Strategy, 2001, Developing Community Cohesion Strategy No. 4.*
(Pros-11) Promoting cultural diversity*	
(Pros-12) Wedge planning approach	

(Pros-1) The city is not divided on a single route, from the middle, but rather in a hyper-segregated structure. This has allowed the city to develop as a single unit by only applying patches to where conflicts occur.

(Pros-2) Adaptation of the scenarios approach (either to accept division as it is or promote rapid integration) facilitated the continuity of planning even when there was political uncertainty.

(Pros-3) Priority is given to achieving 'community cohesion' in Regional Planning Documents (2001, 2012). Aim is to address the effects of residential segregation while promoting neutral sites for employment, recreation and housing.

(Pros-4) Developing public, private and community sectors partnerships for community cooperation.

(Pros-5) Facilitating the removal of existing physical barriers between communities. A funding program is put in place to support local communities for the removal of peace walls.

(Pros-6) Promoting the development of 'shared places'. The university and integrated schools offer shared spaces where not only contact, but also engagement is possible. Several community regeneration projects have produced successfull shared spaces (SRRP), entertainment complexes etc.

(Pros-7) Revitalizing the role of town centres and other common places. Belfast city centre has been renovated as a neutral space.

(Pros-8) Promoting the development of major employment areas accessible by all. The city incorporates such neutral spaces where two communities can come into contact with each other.

(Pros-9) Improving and developing public transport to provide safe and equal access for everyone.

(Pros-10) Strengthening the network of heritage centre, museums and arts centres for a better understanding of cultural diversity. Area redevelopment projects have increased the number of such sites (Titanic Quarter).

(Pros-11) Promoting cultural diversity through the creation of opportunities in creative industries associated with the arts. Area redevelopment projects increase the number of cosmopolitan spaces within the city which shelter an international atmosphere where division is not discerned.

(Pros-12) DENI's "wedge planning" approach to build functional buffer zones between two communities instead of peace walls is a good alternative and is used as a tool in planning. It does not guarantee decreasing levels of conflict, but can be effective in the long-run.

(Cons-1) The hyper-segregated urban form is less prohibitive for the city to function as a whole; therefore, division still lingers in the city as if everything is normal.

(Cons-2) Planning aims to address effects of segregation on a technical and physical basis. This is why planning in Belfast is labelled as neutral. The fact that even recreational green spaces are divided with Peace Walls shows that planning is ineffective to provide innovative solutions for integration.

(Cons-3) Using major road projects to separate conflicting parts of the city caused the proliferation of vacant land specifically in and around the centre. This has tremendous costs on the urban economy.

(Cons-4) The existence of Peace Walls also implies the existence of cul-de-sacs. Cul-de-sacs appear in any part of the city, spontaneously, since Peace Walls are everywhere. This causes an inefficient transportation network.

(Cons-5) There is a significant economic cost for the city to function as two parts. Duplication of urban functions and social amenities induces tremendous costs on the urban economy.

Figure 5.5 : Fact Sheet – Belfast

Jerusalem Pros & Cons

Pros	Cons
(Pros-1) Traditional ethnic quarters – organic multiculturalism	**(Cons-1)** Forceful reunification
(Pros-2) Influential and powerful planning	**(Cons-2)** Partisan planning – political control
(Pros-3) JMP to include whole of the city	**(Cons-3)** Planning ignores division
(Pros-4) Accepting demographic *status quo*	**(Cons-4)** Extension of Jewish city – exclusion of Arab city
(Pros-5) Supporting separate living – multicultural character	**(Cons-5)** Fragmented, road-dominated city-scape – burden on urban economy
	(Cons-6) Degredation of Arab neighbourhoods
	(Cons-7) Duplication of urban facilities – burden on urban economy

(Pros-1) The city is traditionally formed of religious neighbourhoods. This is an organic multicultural structure.

(Pros-2) Planning is used as a powerful source; this proves that planning is more influential than it is generally accredited to be.

(Pros-3) Jerusalem Master Plan (JMP) prepared in 2000 includes the whole of the metropolitan area for the first time (including Palestinian lands). This plan is yet to be implemented.

(Pros-4) The fact that the JMP approaches to the issue of population distribution more realistically reveals that the city administration is acknowledging the demographic status quo.

(Pros-5) JMP asserts that the two communities will carry on living separately. This will avoid forced displacements and maintain the multicultural characteristic of the city, if ever the plan is implemented.

(Cons-1) Even though the city was reunited, it was done so by a war and hence, was not recognised by the international community. Involuntary and forceful essence of reunification is why, today, the city is becoming re-divided with the Security Fence.

(Cons-2) Planning is used as a tool for political control (partisan planning). The Israeli government is using planning for nationalistic purposes. Planning is discriminatory; certain policies are proposed disproportionately, favouring only one community.

(Cons-3) JMP 2000 disregards the wall and acts as if the city is a normal one. This unrealistic and neutral component of the plan makes it inapplicable.

(Cons-4) New Israeli neighbourhoods are built to extend the Jewish city demographically and geographically. Arab neighbourhoods are excluded from the urban system. When the construction of the Security Fence is concluded, some Arab neighbourhoods will remain outside the urban administrative boundaries and public service areas.

(Cons-5) Gated Israeli communities are connected to each other with bypass road systems, fragmenting urban space with vast open lands and disconnecting Palestinian communities. This has tremendous costs on the urban economy. Today, fragmented city scape is reinforced by the Security Fence, costing more on the urban economy.

(Cons-6) Arab neighbourhoods are neglected; they are not provided with the necessary infrastructural elements and public services as well as effective transportation networks.

(Cons-7) There is a significant economic cost for the city to function as two parts. Duplication of urban functions and social aminities induces tremendous costs on the urban economy.

Figure 5.6 : Fact Sheet – Jerusalem

Berlin Pros & Cons

Pros	Cons
(Pros-1) Multicultural city	**(Cons-1)** Two distinct urban forms still visible
(Pros-2) Preserving the memory of the Berlin Wall	**(Cons-2)** Costs of reunifciation
(Pros-3) Policies aiming physical reunification	**(Cons-3)** Distrust to planning authorities – unbalanced investment
(Pros-4) Re-establishing and showcasing the capital	
(Pros-5) Emphasis on common history and legacy	
(Pros-6) Geographically targeted approaches – balancing East-West	
(Pros-7) Benefitting from the Buffer Zone	
(Pros-8) Collaborative planning (after reunification)	

(Pros-1) Due to its global character and international setting, the city provides a multicultural structure which makes it easier for different cultures to live together, with greater tolerance to each other.

(Pros-2) The memory of the Berlin Wall and the image of the divided city is not being ignored but rather preserved and used as an advantage for touristic purposes (landmarks, walkways and bicycle paths, preventing temporary uses along the border zone).

(Pros-3) Urban policies concerned with physical reunification of the city have achieved success; infrastructure and transport systems have been reconnected; green space network re-organized and equal living standards have been achieved for both parts of the city.

(Pros-4) In order to re-establish Berlin as the capital and showcase the city, new cosmopolitan spaces are being constructed in the city centre via area reconstruction programs (Potsdamer Platz).

(Pros-5) Emphasis was given to a pre-division common history and culture (Critical Reconstruction) which could be celebrated by both sides, and objectives of planning were shaped according to these historical claims.

(Pros-6) Geographically targeted approaches oriented investment to the less developed Eastern sector to balance development of two sides.

(Pros-7) After reunification, Buffer Zone was used for triggering physical integration. The freed land around the Berlin Wall was devoted to green space (38%), re-opened or newly constructed streets (25%), buildings (20%), canals and rivers (11%), and, mass-transit systems (6%).

(Pros-8) After reunificayion, planning was carried out with balanced participation from East and West planners. Taking into consideration that planners are more informed for their respective areas, this approach was useful.

(Cons-1) East and West developed their distinct urban forms during the years of division and these differences are still visible. Main distinctions are; the treatment of the city centre according to different ideologies (low density, mono-functional in East; high density, multi-functional in West); polycentric structure of the West vs. Monocentric structure of the East; disparities in building conditions with respect to differing financial opportunities of the time; different road structures (majestic roads on the East) and disconnected or rapidly connected, hence, improper transportation and public transport networks.

(Cons-2) Physical reunification was done with great expenses, including re-connecting infrastructure systems and road networks; rehabilitating degraded buildings and neighbourhoods; re-establishing run-down industrial buildings and sites; consolidating the city using vacant land; re-gaining the city centre etc. Duplication of urban functions and social amenities, as well as separation of transportation systems induced tremendous costs on the urban economy as well. Further, West Berlin's action to move the capital to Bonn was costly after reunification, since the city had to be re-established as the capital. International organizations and embassies had to be relocated to Berlin. With respect to Cons-1, East Berlin was in more need of rehabilitation, causing funds to be oriented to this part of the city.

(Cons-3) When investment was oriented to the more deprived East, the public perceived this as unequal and developed distrust to planning procedures and authorities.

Figure 5.7 : Fact Sheet – Berlin

Beirut Pros & Cons

Pros	Cons
(Pros-1) Traditional ethnic quarters – organic multiculturalism	**(Cons-1)** Physical determinism
(Pros-2) Privatisation of planning	**(Cons-2)** Partial approach – only the centre
(Pros-3) Re-establishing and showcasing the capital	**(Cons-3)** Geogrpahical position
(Pros-4) Influential and powerful planning	**(Cons-4)** General planning policies insufficient
	(Cons-5) Private company – public welfare
	(Cons-6) Costs of reunifciation
	(Cons-7) No emphasis to common culture and history

(Pros-1) The city is traditionally formed of religious neighbourhoods. This is an organic multicultural structure.

(Pros-2) Privatisation of planning (Solidere) is an innovative approach which allowed acting in situations of financial and administrational incapacity as well as political instability. Rehabilitating a war-torn city required extensive investment which the country would not have been able to provide otherwise. Depending on a single company provided a financial standpoint for the economic recovery of the city and the country, which could not have been achieved if things were left to their own course in such a politically unstable country.

(Pros-3) In order to re-establish Beirut as the capital and showcase the city, a new cosmopolitan space is being constructed in the city centre via an expansive urban redevlopment project (Beirut Central District-BCD).Solidere's plan showcases Beirut as a city to invest in, promoting economic development.

(Pros-4) Planning is used as a powerful source; Solidere's plan has facilitiated the economic recovery of the whole of the country after civil war. This proves that planning is more influential than it is generally accredited to be.

(Cons-1) There is a physical determinism approach based on the acceptance that social recovery can be achieved through physical and economic development. So far, only economic recovery seems to be achieved. The social landscape of the city is still very volatile. Physical determinism in planning omits social integration issues which the country is in need of.

(Cons-2) Solidere is only active in the BCD while the entire city still remains socio-economically and physically fragmented. Planning remains indifferent to the rest of the city.

(Cons-3) Neighbouring countries pose threats to the already fragile social structure of the city.

(Cons-4) Solidere's plan does not include general planning principles such as the provision of public services or social housing, other than showcasing Beirut.

(Cons-5) Leaving all stages of planning and implementation to a single company raises questions regarding public welfare and to whom the plan serves to.

(Cons-6) Duplication of urban functions and social amenities, as well as separation of transportation systems induced tremendous costs on the urban economy after reunification.

(Cons-7) Solidere's Plan has no historical claims to support common culture and co-existent living.

Figure 5.8 : Fact Sheet – Beirut

The following two figures (Figure 5.9 and 5.10) represent the pros and cons fact sheets of Nicosia. Since the main case study of this research is Nicosia, a more detailed approach has been pursued for this city. A brief evaluation will follow which summarises the commons between the cities themselves and Nicosia.

Nicosia Pros

Pros
(Pros-1) Traditional ethnic quarters – organic multiculturalism
(Pros-2) Collaborative planning experience–NMP
(Pros-3) Emphasis on common history and legacy
(Pros-4) Scenarios approach
(Pros-5) Informed planning processes
(Pros-6) Common features in planning
(Pros-7) Revitalization of former commercial axis
(Pros-8) Potentials the Buffer Zone offers
(Pros-9) EU accession
(Pros-10) Financial support from the UN

(Pros-1) The city was traditionally formed of religious neighbourhoods. This was an organic multicultural structure, where a natural element (river) was the main divide between the two communities.

(Pros-2) A unique collaborative planning experience has been in practice since 1980s with the Nicosia Master Plan (NMP). NMP has earned international recognition for Nicosia with its unique approach to planning.

(Pros-3) NMP emphasises the historical city centre (Suriçi) as common legacy which can be appreciated by both sides, and hence, bases common grounds on historical preservation. Objectives of planning are shaped according to these historical claims and rehabilitation and design projects are accordingly oriented in this area on both sides.

(Pros-4) Adaptation of the scenarios approach in the NMP (either to accept division as it is or promote rapid integration) facilitated the continuity of planning even when there is political uncertainty and made it possible to see alternative development patterns in case of reunification. NMP is a preliminary, already prepared planning document which will require adaptations and revisions, once the Green Line is dismantled.

(Pros-5) Even though implementation of the NMP is carried out separately, the fact that it has informed both sides and established communication between the two sides during implementation is a positive aspect.

(Pros-6) Planning legislation and administration shares common attributes on both sides which will facilitate merging. Both sides plans contain policies regarding reunification which shows that division is acknowledged, not trespassed.

(Pros-7) Both sides have not moved their CBDs or formed new CBDs elsewhere. With NMP implementations, the former commercial spine has gained prominence once more, establishing the once lost central functions of the centre. With the opening up of the Ledra gate, this axis has been supported and its continuance ensured. It has the potential to be transformed in to a neutral and shared space as it once was.

(Pros-8) After reunification, Buffer Zone can be used for triggering physical integration. A comprehensive survey of the Buffer Zone has been conducted (2000-2004) which enables to analyse possible functions to be acquired by this land in case of reunification.

(Pros-9) Entrance of the RoC into the EU (2004) means that the border between the two sides became a problem of the EU. Since the EU claims the removal of borders to form a single integrated body, it can be assumed that eventually, the Northern sector will be absorbed into EU territory and the Green Line will be removed.

(Pros-10) Active existence of the UN in Cyprus issues means financial and institutional support on issues of division.

Figure 5.9 : Fact Sheet – Nicosia Pros

Nicosia Cons

Cons
(Cons-1) Existence of the Green Line – Buffer Zone
(Cons-2) Two independent cities
(Cons-3) NMP remains as a physical document
(Cons-4) Insufficient monitoring & revision of the NMP
(Cons-5) NMP implementation carried out separately
(Cons-6) Duplication of urban facilities – burden on urban economy
(Cons-7) Two distinct urban forms
(Cons-8) Weak local administrations
(Cons-9) Inefficient transportation networks
(Cons-10) EU accession has affirmed division
(Cons-11) International powers - conflict of interest

(Cons-1) The former commercial spine of the city which was once a natural north-south border (river) has been transformed into a handmade no-man's-land and left to decay.

(Cons-2) The city is composed of two independent sub-systems who have learned to live and cope with themselves for more than 40 years. Polarization between the two sides has grown in time and the city remains deeply divided.

(Cons-3) The NMP does not include policies regarding social recovery and remains as a totally physical document.

(Cons-4) Monitoring and revision of the NMP is not possible due to political instabilities and the fact that a joint committee was not established.

(Cons-5) Implementation of the NMP has to be carried out separately by translating the documents into the respective legislations of each side. This has taken long time on both sides, making change inevitable. With information exchange becoming less by time, disconnections occur from the original plan.

(Cons-6) Duplication of urban functions and social amenities, as well as separation of transportation and infrastructure systems induced tremendous costs on the urban economy on both sides.

(Cons-7) The fact that the Northern sector remains less developed in relation to the South can be observed from the urban form. Building heights, densities, transportation network and living standards are dissimilar.

(Cons-8) Plans and urban policies are produced by the central government on both sides. Local administrations are financially and administratively weak, causing local problems to be bypassed in certain cases.

(Cons-9) Transportation network is one of the most ruptured elements of the city with cul-de-sacs in the city centre; accessibility problems to and from Nicosia; insufficient public transport; inefficient pedestrian and cycle routes.

(Cons-10) Entrance of the RoC into the EU (2004) has affirmed the existence of the Green Line and left the Northern sector outside of the opportunities provided by accession, since the RoC claims to represent the whole of the island.

(Cons-11) The existence of international powers on the island (USA, UK, Turkey, Greece) causes conflict of interest from time to time as well as an overwhelming influence on island-wide affairs. Financial dependency of the Northern sector on Turkey is an obstacle in decision-making processes in case of conflicting interests.

Figure 5.10 : Fact Sheet – Nicosia Cons

Common findings acquired from the comparative analysis are evaluated with Nicosia-specific assessments, in order to establish a foundation for the planning approach to be proposed in the next sub-section. The following is an evaluation of conclusions drawn from Figures 5.1 to 5.10:

- ***Due to their global character and international setting, multicultural cities provide a diverse structure which makes it easier for different cultures to live together, with greater tolerance to one another.***

Different subculture groups arrive to multicultural cities due to immigration as a result of processes like globalisation or decolonisation; they are not national groups as in the case of divided cities. The immigrants migrate to another country and have to abide with that country's laws. They are embraced if they are qualified, since they bring economic value to the city and the country. But even the working-class immigrants are welcomed according to the need of the receiving country. For the immigrants as well, economic interests are more pronounced than their ethnic/national backgrounds and ideologies, once they relocate. Hence, even the conflicting groups live in close proximity to one another in their new city. A good example, which has also inspired filming a web documentary named "From Green Line to Green Lanes" (Url-21), is how Greek and Turkish Cypriots live together in north London.

In this setting, multicultural cities can be contextualised as "open" systems, whereas divided cities are "closed" systems. Only an open system can cope with the challenges a city is faced with. Closed cities cannot answer the challenges posed by essential characteristics of contemporary cities.

This brings us to the conclusion that the city can be a platform for urban integration if it is re-composed under the inescapable global conjuncture of our modern world. This is what Berlin—and to a certain extent, Beirut and Belfast—has prioritised in its planning objectives after reunification: 'to re-establish and showcase the capital' as a normal, global city to invest in. These cities are creating such cosmopolitan spaces in order to put the city back into the world map. In the case of Belfast, Titanic quarter is an example of iconic architecture which has the ability to achieve such a cosmopolitan reputation. This is referred to as the "Bilbao effect" (Rybczynski, 2002) where the image of the city is attempted to be altered with such iconic edifices. Consequently,

opportunities provided by economically developed cities—one of them being individual economic upgrading—can be used for urban integration.

- ***Planning plays an influential role on the relation of subculture groups and the city.***

The fact that all the case studies use planning policies as an effective tool to achieve certain aims is promising for this research. Specifically in Jerusalem, Paris, Beirut and Singapore (Figures 5.3, 5.4, 5.6 and 5.8) planning is used as a powerful tool to achieve generally arguable and criticised outcomes. Regardless, this proves that planning can be more powerful than it is generally accredited to be. In this sense, the NMP stands out; it is a unique collaborative planning approach which has earned international recognition. It has surpassed the divide, brought the two sides together to make joint urban decisions regarding a future reunification. It became the only common project between the two sides (except for sewerage) which is shown as an influential example world-wide.

- ***Indifference to socio-cultural realities in planning causes urban disconnections.***

Ethnically unconscious planning approaches tend to avoid existing conditions and act as if everything is 'normal'. This has significant effects on the city. One example is how different development patterns in East-West Berlin (during division), Jewish-Arab Jerusalem and North-South Nicosia have taken shape due to avoidance of division in planning processes. NYC and Paris also do not acknowledge the issue of segregation as ethnic, but rather as economic. Their response is to provide affordable housing estates, resulting in urban districts solely composed of ethnic minorities. The problem of Harlem in NYC or *banlieues* in Paris evokes bigger challenges since they are ignored and necessitate attention (see Figures 5.1, 5.3).

- ***Acknowledging socio-cultural differences in planning promotes urban integration.***

Singapore is by far the most articulated example in this respect owing to a 40-year long quota policy which decreased segregation and increased integration (Figure 5.4). The fact that this is carried out in a forceful manner is its downfall. Belfast's community cohesion objective in regional planning is also aimed at achieving this, however not as successful (Figure 5.5). London on the other hand, stands out in this respect since urban integration is not maintained by abandoning local residents'

wishes—as in Singapore. Priority is given to meeting local demands via neighbourhood planning and other urban policies which support socio-cultural differences and urban integration (Figure 5.2). There are certain similarities between multicultural planning processes proposed by Qadeer (1997) and Sandercock (2000, 2004)—according to them, cultural differences should be reflected in planning processes—and London's planning approach. Pluralistic perspective of the UK where it is generally viewed as illegitimate to force a dominant culture onto minority groups is the main reason behind London's planning approach. Empowering local communities and rendering them as 'mechanics of change' in Forrester's (1969) terms, enables feedback loops to function readily, making the city a self-organising system.

Berlin sets a similar example to that of Nicosia, where the aim to achieve urban integration was established collaboratively, by problem-sharing between the east and west. It is of Nicosia's advantage that NMP attains collaboration before reunification. The scenarios approach facilitates to envision a reunified and connected city. However, it does not contain specifics on the challenges posed by socio-cultural differences. In the interviews, this is attributed to be the main failure of the document.

- ***Supporting the mosaic of subculture groups is essential for organic development of multicultural living and co-existence.***

Organic development of multiculturalism can ideally be explained by the traditional ethnic quarters of Jerusalem, Beirut and Nicosia, where different subculture groups preserved their cultural traits within their own neighbourhoods while living in co-existence with the others. Even though these three cities seem to have lost their organic multicultural character, NYC and London appear to have acquired it. However, historical discrimination in real estate and assimilationist policies have caused NYC to earn a bad name. Therefore, white dominated suburbia and problematic subculture boundaries (like Harlem being renowned as a no-go zone) of segmented NYC do not find resonance in plural London. London offers a much more preferable situation with its dispersed subculture groups, ethnically mixed housing estates and penetrable boundaries (Figure 5.2). Peach's (1996a, 1996b) perspectives on "good segregation" appears to be on display in London; cultural values and group cohesion is maintained, social networks are strengthened, economic entrepreneurship is promoted (hierarchical polycentric structure), and institutional development is supported.

Pre-division urban forms of Jerusalem, Beirut and Nicosia, and the current urban forms of NYC and London exhibit a mosaic of subculture groups which live in co-existence with one another. According to Alexander (1977), this is a common attribute of every city around the world, and this mosaic has to be promoted for peaceful living. This uncovers the fact that integration does not necessarily mean combined residential areas and combined neighbourhoods. This is why; forceful integration policies of Singapore can be evaluated as a superficial approach, since it tries to gain such neighbourhoods without taking the residents wishes into account.

Belfast and Paris on the other hand, do not constitute multicultural living in this sense. Even though Belfast has organic multicultural neighbourhoods (formed in centuries of voluntary segregation), the boundaries between subculture groups are not 'soft'. In Paris, the immigrants are excluded from the city to live in the suburbs which makes it impossible to observe a mosaic of multicultural neighbourhoods.

- ***Subculture boundaries do not correspond to administrative boundaries and have to be evaluated in the lowest level possible.***

Subculture groups do not congregate according to municipal boundaries. Such an evolution is evident in pre-division historical settlement patterns of examined cities—for example Nicosia was divided between a Muslim north and an Orthodox south by a river—as well as multicultural case studies. This type of organic structure necessitates strong local organisation at the lowest level possible—which would be neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood-level administration brings *mukhtars* (the head of local government in neighbourhoods in Turkey or Arab countries) to one's mind. They were the lowest level of government authority during the Ottoman Period Nicosia, and they still are in the northern sector.

In London, the fact that strong local administration is critical for local communities is acknowledged. Chadwick's (1971) assertion is helpful to clarify the reason; individuals and groups are self-adapting and self-optimising, hence, restructuring their environment should be left to them. This can only be possible with fully functioning feedback loops which start from local communities and reaches up to national level (bottom-up). What planning needs to do in this respect is to widen the range of choices by promoting horizontal organisation models and participation; and meeting local demands. In a way, urban planning provision of the UK's 2011 Localism Act yearns

to achieve this. The concept of neighbourhood planning has been introduced and significant policy reports have been produced which propose strategies—like local contracts, integration and cohesion teams etc. see Figure 5.2—for local administrations in dealing with issues of diversity. In addition, such a formation—particularly the suggestion of cohesion teams—resonates Chadwick's (1971) "learning institutional systems" that are necessary for a dynamic planning process. Other case studies do not shelter such specific policies promoting the importance of localities.

- ***Geographically targeted approaches facilitate the integration of less developed zones into the wider urban area.***

Geographically targeted approaches exist in all the examined cities which aim to tackle deprivation and degradation in certain parts of its entity. Even though these policies carry the risk of labelling such areas as 'problematic', implementing them seems to have beneficial results. To give a few examples; in NYC, commercial regeneration projects have facilitated economic integration of areas like Harlem into the city; in Paris, marginalisation of *banlieues* have been addressed with certain programs and inspired follow-up projects; and in Berlin, investment has been oriented to the less developed Eastern sector to balance development levels of two sides (Figures 5.1, 5.3 and 5.7).

In this vein, Nicosia resembles Berlin; the Northern sector remains less developed in relation to the South and this can be observed from the urban form. The fact that this economic imbalance is not portrayed in the internationally received funds (funds are allocated according to population, resulting in more funds for the South), widens the gap between the two sectors of the city.

- ***Division is unsustainable.***

All the divided case studies of this study have reunified—with the exception of Belfast which has always performed as a single entity. This is because division is an obstruction for cities to 'sustain' as a singular unit. Sustainable development becomes unattainable in these circumstances. Once this aspect becomes superior to conflict issues, reunification becomes the only viable option. Specifically, we have witnessed such an exhaustion in cities that were torn by prolonged civil wars, like Beirut. However, a certain degree of division may not obstruct sustainable development, as is

the case in multicultural case studies. Main attributes of such "acceptable divisions" is the existence of shared spaces, soft boundaries and the mosaic of subcultures.

- ***The costs of division (and reunification) put an overwhelming pressure on urban economies.***

Duplication of services, institutions, infrastructure, social amenities and functional zones—particularly in Nicosia, Jerusalem and division-era Berlin—results in increased expenditure for the municipal authorities. Thresholds are ruined with division, resulting in unforeseeable costs since two road systems, two municipalities, two school and hospital systems, and two economies have to be created. The transportation network is cut off increasing the number of *cul-de-sacs* and creating an inefficient road network. Prolonged urban partitioning—observed in Nicosia—produces further economic disadvantages since each side attempts to create a fully functioning independent city on its own. Further redundancies of division are observed when bifurcations on both parts of the city result in separate developmental patterns. Traditional organisation of the united city is forced to sprawl out, losing its compactness due to proliferation of vacant land. NMP's concentration and consolidation aim seems very appropriate when thought in this regard.

Reunification induces further costs on municipalities as we have observed in Jerusalem and Berlin. Physically integrating a city which has been divided for a long time requires a great amount of expenditure such as cleaning out the rubble; re-connecting infrastructure systems and road networks etc. (Figure 5.7).

- ***Reunification achieves physical wholeness if the relations between the two parts are reinforced.***

Hall's (1973) view asserts that if relations of pre-existing parts of a system are strengthened, or relations are developed among previously unrelated parts of a system, or new relations and parts are added to a system, the system can change towards wholeness. It can be observed that Berlin's reunification has followed such a path with its physical integration policies, such as; strengthening the lost importance of the city centre (*Potsdamer Platz*); re-connecting the infrastructure network; and developing the buffer zone as a new part of the system while at the same time connecting it to the rest of the city (Figure 5.7). Hall's theory is also descriptive of why Beirut has not achieved such a successful reunification.

Thinking in the light of Hall (1973) and Berlin, Nicosia shelters positive attributes for achieving wholeness. The opening up of the traditional commercial axis, Ledra Street, on the north-south is an opportunity for post-reunification. Further, NMP's policies to re-connect the city physically serve to gain the lost wholeness of the city.

- ***A scenarios approach is critical for being able to act regardless of the political climate.***

Scenarios approach is in line with Chadwick's (1971), Lozano's (1990), Calame and Charlesworth's (2009) and Gaffikin and Morrissey's (2011) argument; to produce a dynamic planning process which responds to changing situations and requirements. Adaptation of the scenarios approach in the NMP and Belfast (either to accept division as it is or promote rapid integration) facilitates the continuity of planning even when there is political uncertainty. Belfast's proposals for the current period aim to tackle negative consequences of division, such as removing physical barriers, revitalising the role of town centres, and promoting the development of shared spaces (Figure 5.5). NMP has similar proposals, like revitalising the city centre (Suriçi) and improving transportation network (Figure 5.9). This attitude enables planners to get the best out of the current situation and at the same time, produce alternatives for future urban development. Wedge planning—in Belfast—is an example for the former (Figure 5.5); and NMP's alternative scenario creation for each policy exemplifies the latter.

- ***Common heritage, education, tourism and services are drivers of change after reunification.***

Berlin sets a good example in the subject of reunification. With the Critical Reconstruction doctrine, objectives of planning are shaped according to historical claims which play an important role in creating a fresh start where old hostilities can be exchanged with common values. Further, Berlin preserves the memory of the wall instead of ignoring it, and turns it into a common value, as well as using it for touristic gains. Belfast's community cohesion policy embraces such strategies as well, like strengthening cultural heritage sites and promoting cultural diversity (Figure 5.5). New cosmopolitan spaces are created and old spaces like the city centre are renovated to act as tourism, business and commercial centres. Further, integrated schools and universities are perceived as important drivers for change for the society, and are supported. Beirut, while creating a globally competitive central district which serves

as a cosmopolitan space, aims to moderate criticisms by preserving archaeological findings which refer to the common past of residents. Jerusalem does not offer such positive examples since reunification was achieved forcefully and its policies do not aim urban integration built on a common history. Developments in education, tourism or services are delivered only to a certain part of the society.

NMP also emphasises common history and legacy by prioritizing the rehabilitation of the city centre (Suriçi) which is armoured with architectural edifices appreciated by both sides. This area is also traditional services area; a shared space where different groups came to contact with one another. With the opening up of the Ledra Gate, a similar effect was created. The centre (Suriçi) is now going through a revitalisation process, and this is being supported by the municipalities' joint projects like pedestrianisation and rehabilitation of old buildings.

- ***Development of shared spaces (schools, workplaces etc.) and neutral spaces (commercial areas, city centres etc.) are effective for bonding.***

Every city has public spaces but with division, they are the first places to be lost. This is why in Belfast, development of shared spaces—where not only contact, but also engagement is possible—is promoted (Figure 5.5). Examples for these sites are; schools, leisure places, places designed explicitly for cultural confrontations, and workplaces. Berlin also has a concentrated effort on producing such places as has been evidenced by the management of freed land from the Buffer Zone. Beirut has by far produced a vast neutral space (central district) but has not been as much effective in providing shared spaces for its residents. Jerusalem, has no effort in producing such spaces since the aim is not to 'bond' the two societies, but divide them.

Nicosia is home to such places since the opening up of the border. Home for Cooperation in the Buffer Zone is specifically built for intercultural activities; English speaking education facilities in the south have Turkish students; and there are certain workplaces in the south which employ Turkish workers. Promotion of neutral spaces is also promoted with the NMP resulting in renovations in the city centre.

As mentioned before, the location chosen for such spaces are as important as their existence. For example, the joint football pitch in the buffer zone of Nicosia turned into a solely Turkish pitch, mainly because it remains in the northern sector without direct entrance from the south. Similar problems are visible in Belfast.

5.2 Planning Approach Proposal for Nicosia

The planning approach is based on a sustainable multicultural development perspective carrying the hallmarks of systems approach. Firstly, the fact that Nicosia (and other divided cities) once constituted a whole / single entity is the first stand point advocating that following developments depended on, and its current situation is shaped according to its initial conditions. Secondly, when wholeness of the city was disturbed by division, the system went through progressive factorisation forming two independent parts. However, taking into account that these parts were once united, it is possible to strengthen the relations between these parts, and hence enter into a progressive systematisation phase. Thirdly, even though the existing independent parts can be argued to have a biotic balance or a steady state of their own, the analysis of division in Nicosia has shown that this is an illusion and the system is far from functioning to its full capacity. Reunited Berlin and Beirut has proven these points; both cities achieved progressive systematisation since they depended on their initial conditions of being a whole and they are both on the way to attain full-capacity functioning.

The notion that the relations between subsystems should be strengthened for integration constitutes a foundation for our proposal from the planning perspective as well. Thinking in systems view of planning, supporting human communications (channels) which shape human activities (spaces) is essential. This necessitates the apprehension of the city as a system that self-adapts and self-optimises from the bottom-up, rendering the aim of planning to optimise the system's performance by widening the range of choices. Such a framework can only be possible by creating institutions that are learning systems. The role of planner then becomes one that understands the behaviour of the urban system (whether it requires a quick solution, self-regulation, or; a structural make-over, self-organisation) in order to guide the system from uncertainty toward stability. This requires 'uncertainties' to be a part of the planning system, allowing scenarios or case-by-case approaches to provide the necessary range of choices. Furthermore, taking into the current states of affair in Cyprus, it would be formidable to propose an approach that transcends the political status-quo. The cooperative urban strategy (Öztoprak, 2005) becomes a viable option, where collaborative planning is accomplished via cooperation of both communities as equals in the current, divided situation.

Building on to these statements, the planning approach proposal for Nicosia aims *not* to draw a strict vision, but alternatively, a framework on what a vision has to take into account. Owing to the fact that the objective is set to produce a guideline for all divided cities, not just Nicosia, instead of precise policies, a flexible path is sketched. This is why the term "approach" is preferred rather than "method". Before presenting the planning approach, some of the above-mentioned statements have to be clarified.

- ***Primary Objective: Sustainable Development Fostering a Multicultural Vision***

The conclusions drawn up till now steer us towards a comprehension of planning based on the context of sustainable development which asserts that the needs of the present should not compromise the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (UN, 1987). Today, sustainability is the prominent constituent, if not the main aim, of all planning documents produced for cities all around the world. Explicit examples can be given from the case studies of this research. Sustainable development is entrenched in all policies of the London Plan (2011) which aims to put forward a vision for the sustainable development of London over the period covered with the plan. The PlaNYC (2011) is defined as "the sustainability and resiliency blueprint for New York City" (Url-22). Paris and Singapore are not as clear in their urban policies as NYC and London regarding sustainable development. Regardless, Grand Paris (2008) aims to transform the vast region of Ile de France, into a model city of the 21st century with sustainability as the main theme.

In the concept of divided cities, sustainable development connotes that integration is essential for a city to be able to 'sustain'. Economic and social integration are inseparable parts of urban integration (hence their existence in our planning approach as main topics, see Table 5.1). On the other hand, the well-known fact that "ecology recognises no limits" can be used as a trigger for integration. It is a common value like historical legacies and its preservation calls for cross-border agreements all over the world.

Nevertheless, the most problematic aspect of sustainable development in divided cities would be the social. This is why, providing a multicultural vision has to be a priority in such a planning document. Following Qadeer's (1997) path, Table 5.1 incorporates certain principles on how to achieve such a vision. To summarise; bottom-up, horizontal approaches to facilitate the access of communities to the planning

departments and to promote inclusionary planning processes (for example, London's Localism Act); provision of scenarios in order to answer to different needs through amendments and exceptions (NMP's preferred method); provision of necessary freedom on choosing place to live (mosaic of subcultures, evident in NYC and London); providing equitable treatment by acknowledging socio-cultural differences in planning processes (i.e. London and Singapore); and eventually, defining a Multicultural Vision as a development strategy.

- ***Dynamic Process: From Divided City to Post-Conflict City***

Planning is an act to organise the present in order to manipulate the future. It aims to steer "change" to preferred and desired paths. In divided cities, the desired path is one of integration, since it is beneficial for sustainable development. However, in these divided cities like Belfast and Jerusalem, urban integration remains obstructed and whether it will be achieved or not is ambiguous. The question then becomes whether to plan for a divided city or a post-conflict city. Since division is a dynamic condition, the two becomes intertwined. For example today, Belfast is concurrently planning for 1) a divided city by i.e. building new peace walls; and 2) a post-conflict city by implementing community cohesion strategies. Furthermore, as we have witnessed in Berlin and Beirut, the removal of barriers, as necessary as it may be, is not the end of reunification but the beginning. It is the first step in the path of normalisation. Hence, the essence of such processes—from division to integration—is dynamic and a planning approach needs to be appropriately flexible.

Nicosia's foremost advantage in this respect is that it already has a bi-communal plan which is prepared to respond to both conditions/scenarios. The practicality of such a perspective cannot be overlooked. This is why; the proposed planning approach embraces this attitude and shelters certain elements which can be executed right away (grey boxes in Table 5.1). This said, the proposal is constructed to provide urban integration in the framework of sustainable development; hence in general, it is construed from a post-conflict perspective.

- ***Delivering Change: The Main Actors***

Main actors to deliver change in divided cities are no different from any other city. Certain references have been made in Table 5.1 to this issue; however an elaboration can be useful.

a) *Private sector* is the driving force for private investment, real estate and design projects. The planning approach should enable such a role. Overemphasising the role of the private sector, as in Beirut, should be prevented to maintain public good in a circumstance where the integrity of the public is questionable.

b) *Public sector* should specifically carry out service investments like infrastructure and provide effective governance. Funding requirements should be understood compensated by necessary means such as intergovernmental organisations and other internal financial institutions. Creating revolving funds with clear economic policies are essential at this point. Impartiality and openness are key working elements of the public sector to deliver integration.

c) *Civil society* creates market demand. They are the main actors who specify requirements for urban amenities. In order for the system to function normally, feedback loops reaching from civil society to upper levels have to be have to be utilised. Participation, stakeholder involvement, engagement and horizontal organisation become the main planning issues in this regard. London's emphasis on the importance of the local sets an example at this point. Participation should be carried out to acknowledge "how to make the virtues of the city accessible by all".

In order to provide a pluralistic planning process (as proposed by Qadeer, 1997 and Sandercock, 2000b) procedural, administrational and ideological changes have to be made. Furthermore, as stated by the interviewees, the main deficiency of the NMP is a bi-communal board of management to facilitate the delivery of change. Berlin's collaborative planning experience following reunification proves that this is a necessary step to take in order to provide desirable implementation processes. In addition, issues like, resource-management, funding, planning tools and programs can be generated with such a joint development agency.

- ***The Planning Approach***

The planning approach proposal aimed at integration is construed around hallmarks of *sustainable multicultural development* encompassing three issues; urban economy, socio-cultural aspects and planning policies. They have to be thought concurrently in order to deduct their ability to provide urban integration. Under each of these main issues, certain guiding principles are proposed according to the lessons drawn from the

comparative analysis and put forward in the previous section. These principles narrate attributes which should be *enabled* and *avoided* in a planning approach in the framework of urban integration. The *dynamic* essence enabling to act under all circumstances (division to post-conflict) is provided in Table 5.1 where grey boxes represent actions which can be taken right away, while the others necessitate a form of reunification. By following this matrix, it is possible to produce a draft plan for any divided city. However, more specific proposals on how to attain these goals in Nicosia are also put forward, in separate columns (How?). The following presents a summary of Table 5.1 which is the proposed planning approach of this research.

a) Urban Economy

- Open city: In order to become an 'open system', re-establishing the capital as a city to invest in, consequently providing an international setting. This is the first lesson drawn from multicultural cities. The urban core (Walled City) and its surroundings should be the main basis for this development.
- Change based on common values and comparative advantages: Using drivers of change (heritage, services, tourism and education, exemplified by lessons learnt from Berlin, Belfast and Beirut) for economic development and integration. Common heritage and the Walled City is the most important element to trigger urban integration in Nicosia as well as using comparative advantages.
- Cost efficiency: Physically integrating the city, balancing the urban amenities-population relationship and providing compact development patterns for economic gain. Employ Hall's (1973) views on progressive systematisation to achieve wholeness of the system by strengthening the parts and relations of a system and adding new parts when necessary (as exemplified with Berlin's reunification).

b) Socio-cultural Aspects

- Mosaic of subcultures: Providing opportunities to live together or live apart, as desired; in order to present an opportunity for the organic development of multiculturalism, as in NYC, London and pre-war Jerusalem, Beirut and Nicosia. Neighbourhood level, community based organisations are essential to provide such a setting (London sets a good example on acknowledging the

importance of localities). The subculture boundaries have to be penetrable for effective co-existence and soft, natural or man-made boundaries have to be formulated (as in multicultural case studies).

- Public spaces: Creating and promoting neutral, shared and cosmopolitan spaces (as in Berlin, Belfast, Beirut). Public spaces are the main areas where intercultural relations take place. Hence, they are more important than creating mixed residential areas.
- Recognition of socio-cultural differences in planning: Cultural differences should be reflected in planning processes (i.e. London, Singapore). Access to planning procedures should be equal for all parts of the society.

c) Planning Policies

- Effective planning: A collaborative approach based on problem-sharing and joint decision making is essential as we have witnessed in reunified Berlin. Provision of a bi-communal community can voice local demands of both communities and provide a necessary organisational establishment for feedback loops to function smoothly. Bottom-up, horizontal organisation has to be the main attribute in order to provide community based, neighbourhood level planning. The Localism Act which is in place for London provides a good example.
- Scenarios: In order to readily respond to different realities, flexibility and case-to-case adjustments are essential. Such a foundation has been set by the NMP and needs to be developed further.
- Geographically targeted approaches: Removing imbalances in urban development levels. All cities around the world pursue such strategies. Among our case studies, NYC, Paris, and reunified Berlin, for example have implemented such approaches which have produced positive outcomes.
- Urban integration: Sustainable multicultural development principles for urban integration. Based on Hall's (1973) views on progressive systematisation (the movement of the system from independence to wholeness as exemplified with Belin's reunification), and Lozano's (1990) evaluation that interaction among parts is essential for the urban system to survive, certain measurements have to be taken.

Table 5.1 : The planning approach matrix for divided cities and Nicosia.

	Main Issues	Enable…	How? (Nicosia specific assessments)	Avoid...	How? (Nicosia specific assessments)
Urban Economy	Open city	…the re-establishment of the city image …the development of an international setting …attraction of immigrants and investment	- create new cosmopolitan "showcase" areas - continue with NMP projects in the city centre - provide public infrastructure investments - provide special incentives and permits - use the advantages of EU membership (financial and institutional)	…erosion of local values as a result of globalisation	- strengthen cultural diversity and heritage sites
				...splitting the centre from the rest of the city	- decrease project-dependency based in the Walled City by improving cooperation on mundane issues in the wider city - guarantee constant updating of metropolitan-wide planning (NMP) by appointing a bi-communal committee - promote a polycentric structure - develop efficient public transportation network
	Change based on common values and comparative advantages	...promotion of common heritage and culture ...promotion of common ecological values	- continue NMP policy to praise common cultural and historical values of the city centre. The Walled City is the most important element.	...usage of nationalistic values	- narrate Cypriot instead of Turk and Greek
		...promote commercial regeneration for economic integration …promotion of urban service areas	- reactivate the horizontal commercial axis to support the vertical one - develop the CBDs of both sides towards each other	...unbalanced development between the two sides (North-South)	- use comparative advantages of each side - benefit both sides equally - use geographically targeted approaches for under-developed parts - distribute funds according to the need (not population)
		...promotion of tourism	- use the memory of the Buffer Zone as a touristic attraction - continue NMP implementations in the city centre - create touristic hotspots based on a common history and culture - promote cultural diversity by supporting traditional industries		
		...support for education facilities as shared spaces	- establish integrated schools and universities		
	Cost efficiency	…a balanced population size-urban amenity relationship	- transform redundant sites into new functional zones	…unnecessary construction	- use available redundant stock (roads, buildings, vacant land) at hand to lower costs to provide effective resource management - balance reconstruction and renovation
		…physical integration; channels to strengthen relations	- re-connect infrastructure, transportation network, functional zones		
		…compact and coherent development patterns	- continue NMP consolidation and concentration policy		
Socio-cultural Aspects	Mosaic of subcultures	...community-based, neighbourhood level development ...equal chances for all	- promote establishment of community organisations - promote multiple publics each with their own centres - develop efficient public transportation network	...strictly abiding to administrative boundaries ...domination of one community over the other	- map subculture groups - promote vertical and horizontal organisational relationships between administrative bodies
		...opportunities for living together and living apart ...voluntary and gradual mixing	- provide range of choices to address differing housing preferences - establish mixed housing estate projects	...forceful integration policies ...discrimination in the housing market	- advocate for equal rights in the legal system - establish an equity and advocative planning approach
		...penetrable subculture boundaries	- use "wedge planning"	...impenetrable constructions or facilities appealing to only one group	- encourage natural divides and shared, daily functions
	Public spaces	...promotion of neutral spaces	- support the (newly opened) traditional commercial spine by continuing with NMP projects - create functionally mixed zones (office, retail etc.) to create constant movement and circulation	...territorialisation of public spaces	- choose appropriate locations (not in the favour of either group) - produce local design codes acceptable by all to prevent symbolic manifestations - choose the right functions, everyday needs, to attract citizens - establish mechanisms for joint ownership and management
		...promotion of shared spaces	- use the Buffer zone to trigger integration - support the establishment of places like Home for Cooperation		
		...creation of cosmopolitan spaces	- create new international spaces that do not evoke division		
	Recognition of socio-cultural differences in planning	...ethnically conscious planning ...access to planning process by different communities ...cultural differences to be reflected in planning process ...wide range of choices	- develop a pluralistic, multicultural vision - understand diverse needs and accommodate them through amendments - make specific provisions for cultural facilities	...ethnically unconscious planning (neutral planning) ...diverging from or ignoring realities ...unequal treatment between cultural groups ...assimilation into majority cultural values	- acknowledge existing conditions as they are - provide wider range of choices in housing etc. - increase inclusive planning processes to understand expectations
Planning Policies	Effective planning	...collaboration / cooperation in planning	- take advantage of the NMP's organisational structure and planning document - establish a bi-communal board of management (feedback loops) - prioritise problem-sharing and joint decision-making	...points of friction ...neutral and/or partisan planning ...strictly answering every need	- produce alternative solutions using effective tools (i.e. wedge planning) - be flexible - use a scenarios approach
		...a continuous and dynamic process	- produce case-specific spatial adjustments, with feedback loops - aim for attainable outcomes and modest strategies		
		...horizontal organisation ...activation of learning institutional systems	- establish mechanisms for inclusion and participation of, and engagement with, stakeholders	...exclusion of individuals and groups in decision-making processes ...centralisation of planning process	- strengthen local / neighbourhood level administrations - advocate decentralization of governance - promote grass-root organisations
		...neighbourhood-based planning	- support the establishment of community groups and neighbourhood forums to voice their claims - provide professional guidance (through civic partnerships)		
	Scenarios	...alternatives for future development	- respond to changing situations and requirements when necessary	...neutral planning process (only responding)	- manipulate the system by understanding it effectively
	Geographically targeted app.	...balanced development levels in and around the city	- orient investment to less-developed areas - continue and develop NMP joint regeneration projects	...perceptions of unequal distribution	- advocate the less powerful and demand equal opportunities - determine attainable outcomes to prevent dissatisfaction
	Urban integration	...sustainable development (economic, social and ecological considerations) ...benefit from the Buffer Zone	- profit from urban voids and ecological values it offers - transform a Buffer Zone into a connecting element by creating shared spaces like schools, leisure places etc.	...turning the Buffer Zone into a dead / unused space	- transform the city centre into a shared space - reactivate the traditional commercial spines - restrain from functions like open-air museum or green space in the city centre
		...reconnection of infrastructure	- reconnect cut-off roads (in the Buffer Zone) for permeability		
			- use sewage system as an example to connect other inf. systems	...exceeding developmental threshold limits	- optimise urban sprawl by taking infrastructural limits in to account

6. CONCLUSION

This chapter aims to present concluding remarks of this research. The results of the analysis are evaluated before moving on to recommendations for future work addressing scholars who are interested in planning in divided and multicultural cities.

6.1 Evaluation of the Results

This research aimed to propose a planning approach for divided cities in general and Nicosia in particular, by investigating the effects of division on the urban system and evaluating the role of planning approaches on this effect. Two types of cities spearheaded in urban division literature—multicultural cities and divided cities—have been distinguished to provide a comprehensive comparison. In this framework, eight case studies comprising two different types of cities were compared—with regards to settlement history and physical appearance of, and planning approaches to, subculture groups and division—in order to form a foundation for Nicosia to be weighed according to its urban counterparts. This comparison revealed the following results;

- Due to their global character and international setting, multicultural cities provide a diverse structure which makes it easier for different cultures to live together, with greater tolerance to one another.
- Planning plays an influential role on the relation of subculture groups and the city. Indifference to socio-cultural realities in planning causes urban disconnections. Acknowledging socio-cultural differences in planning promotes urban integration.
- Supporting the mosaic of subculture groups is essential for organic development of multicultural living and co-existence.
- Subculture boundaries do not correspond to administrative boundaries and have to be evaluated in the lowest level possible.
- Geographically targeted approaches facilitate the integration of less developed zones into the wider urban area.
- Division is unsustainable. The costs of prolonged division (and reunification) put an overwhelming pressure on urban economies.

- Reunification achieves physical wholeness if the relations between the two parts are reinforced.
- A scenarios approach is critical for being able to act regardless of the political climate.
- Common heritage, education, tourism and services are drivers of change after reunification. Development of shared spaces (schools, workplaces etc.) and neutral spaces (commercial areas, city centres etc.) are effective for bonding.

These conclusions are cross-checked and evaluated with references to Nicosia. Consequently, features to *avoid* or *enable* in a planning approach for divided cities are conceptualised, followed by Nicosia-specific policies.

The planning approach is based on a *sustainable multicultural development* perspective carrying the hallmarks of systems approach and aiming at urban integration. As the case studies have shown, the most problematic aspect of sustainable development in divided cities is social integration. Thus, providing a multicultural vision has to be a priority in such a planning document. In order to produce this sustainable multicultural development approach that aims integration, a *dynamic process,* steering the divided city towards a post-conflict city is essential. This necessitates a planning approach which is flexible enough to act in all circumstances, regardless of the political climate. The proposal incorporates such flexibility by defining phases which can be applied in both circumstances; division and reunification. In order to provide such a dynamic process, localised, *bottom-up and horizontal learning institutions* are essential. The planning approach was built on this framework with specific references on how to achieve the proposed elements in Nicosia. It does *not* aim to draw a strict vision, but alternatively, a framework on what a vision has to take into account. Owing to the fact that the objective is set to produce a guideline for all divided cities, not just Nicosia, instead of precise policies, a flexible path is sketched.

Taking these into consideration, the proposal encompasses three main issues (urban economy, socio-cultural aspects and planning policies), each having certain principles to be enabled or avoided in divided cities (according to the lessons learnt from case studies) and Nicosia-specific policies on how to achieve these principles. The following offers an evaluation of the proposal:

a) Urban Economy

- *Open-City*: Enabling the re-establishment of the capital as a city to invest in, will consequently provide an international and multicultural setting. The urban core and its surroundings (Walled City) should be the main basis for these developments. Avoiding the disconnection of the centre from the rest of the city becomes important at this point. To address this issue, metropolitan-wide planning (NMP) should be improved and updated by a bi-communal committee.
- *Change based on common values and comparative advantages*: Enabling the promotion of drivers of change (heritage, services, tourism and education) will generate economic development and integration. Common heritage (specifically the Walled City) is the most important element to trigger urban integration in Nicosia and continuation of NMP policies and implementations will be supportive in this respect. Avoiding unbalanced development between the two parts is an important consideration. Using comparative advantages and geographically targeted approaches can help in achieving balanced development, beneficial for both sides.
- *Cost efficiency*: Enabling physical integration of the city, a balanced urban amenities-population relationship, and compact development patterns will secure economic gain. NMP already has a concentration policy, but the others can only be attained in case of reunification by using redundant sites as new functional zones and reconnecting infrastructure. Avoiding unnecessary construction by (1) using the available stock and (2) balancing reconstruction and renovation will lower the costs and provide effective resource management.

b) Socio-cultural Aspects

- *Mosaic of subcultures*: Enabling opportunities to live together or live apart, as desired will present a possibility for the organic development of multiculturalism as well as neighbourhood level, community based organisations. The range of choices (in housing for example) have to be widened to establish such a setting. The subculture boundaries have to be penetrable for effective co-existence and soft, natural or man-made boundaries have to be formulated, using innovative tools like wedge planning. Avoiding

forceful integration policies to create mixed neighbourhoods will help prevent the fantasy of a united sense of place.

- *Public spaces*: Enabling the creation and promotion of neutral, shared and cosmopolitan spaces will trigger social integration. Nicosia's Buffer Zone can be used as such following reunification, but for the current period the NMP projects in the Walled city offers such possibilities. Avoiding territorialisation of public spaces is essential to provide co-existence. Choosing appropriate functions in appropriate locations will improve intercultural relations.
- *Recognition of socio-cultural differences in planning*: Enabling cultural differences to be reflected in planning processes is important to provide a pluralistic vision. Understanding diverse needs and accommodating them through amendments necessitates specific provisions to be made on the basis of cultural preferences. Avoiding unequal treatment and the dominance of majority cultural values calls for inclusive planning processes.

c) Planning Policies

- *Effective planning*: Enabling a collaborative approach based on problem-sharing and joint decision making is essential to provide effective planning processes. Only a continuous and dynamic process can facilitate the maintenance of such an approach. Provision of a bi-communal community can voice local demands of both communities and provide a necessary organisational establishment for feedback loops to function smoothly. Bottom-up, horizontal organisations has to be the main attribute in order to provide community-based, neighbourhood level planning. Avoiding points of friction and neutral perspectives or efforts to strictly answer every demand will improve efficiency. To do this, alternative solutions have to be incorporated in a flexible manner which utilise effective tools.
- *Scenarios*: Enabling flexibility and case-to-case adjustments is essential to readily respond to different realities. Such a foundation has been set by the NMP and needs to be developed further. Avoiding the planning process to become inactive necessitates an ability to understand and manipulate the system effectively.

- *Geographically targeted approaches*: Enabling the removal of imbalances in urban development levels will facilitate the formation of an integrated city. Avoiding the perception of unequal distribution between two sides is an important part of the process. Advocating the less powerful and demanding equal opportunities will help to prevent dissatisfaction.
- *Urban integration*: Enabling a sustainable multicultural development aiming urban integration should be the main concern. Relations, channels and communication between the parts have to be strengthened or if necessary, created. In Nicosia, benefitting from the urban vacant lands (i.e. Buffer Zone), in economic, social and ecologic terms for example, is a sound policy. Avoiding turning the connecting elements into unused spaces, as well as exceeding threshold limits are important considerations to make. These aspects can be prevailed by creating a shared space in the centre (Buffer zone) and optimising urban sprawl by taking infrastructural limits in to account.

As a conclusion, the above assessments reveal that systems approach is an inevitable and inherent part of a research that aims urban integration. Systems view of the city is a constructive way to understand the importance of urban integration, or, in other words, the importance of understanding why division is not a preferable situation for the well-being of the city. Systems view of planning, on the other hand is essential for understanding how "planning change"—in this case, "planning for urban integration"—is conceptualised.

Firstly, the fact that Nicosia (and other divided cities) once constituted a whole / single entity is the first stand point advocating that following developments depended on, and its current situation is shaped according to its initial conditions. Secondly, when wholeness of the city was disturbed by division, the system went through progressive factorisation forming two independent parts. However, taking into account that these parts were once united, it is possible to strengthen the relations between these parts, and hence enter into a progressive systematisation phase. Thirdly, even though the existing independent parts can be argued to have a biotic balance or a steady state of their own, the analysis of division in Nicosia has shown that this is an illusion and the system is far from functioning to its full capacity. Reunited Berlin and Beirut has proven these points; both cities achieved progressive systematisation since they

depended on their initial conditions of being a whole and they are both on the way to attain full-capacity functioning.

The notion that the relations between subsystems should be strengthened for integration constitutes a foundation for our proposal from the planning perspective as well. Thinking in systems view of planning, supporting human communications (channels) which shape human activities (spaces) is essential. This necessitates the apprehension of the city as a system that self-adapts and self-optimises from the bottom-up, rendering the aim of planning to optimise the system's performance by widening the range of choices. The equity and advocative planning approaches of Davidoff and Krumholz also promote this latter concept by giving their priority to social inclusion in planning processes. Such a framework can only be possible by creating institutions that are learning systems. The role of planner then becomes one that understands the behaviour of the urban system (whether it requires a quick solution, self-regulation, or; a structural make-over, self-organisation) in order to guide the system from uncertainty toward stability. This requires 'uncertainties' to be a part of the planning system, allowing scenarios or case-by-case approaches to provide the necessary range of choices. Furthermore, taking into the current states of affair in Cyprus, it would be formidable to propose an approach that transcends the political status-quo. The cooperative urban planning model becomes a viable option, where collaborative planning is accomplished via cooperation of both communities as equals in the current, divided situation.

The role of planners in divided cities also has to transcend the limitations of their current environments. Instead of avoidance and compliance, engagement and advocacy should be the professional approaches of planners in divided cities. In such cross-cultural contexts, the planner has to go beyond the rational processes of planning and pursue a communicative planning process which shelters therapeutic skills such as listening, understanding and interpreting. Some principles of equity and advocative planning approaches also have to be incorporated (inclusive planning processes, equal access to decision-making etc.) into planners' mind-set in order to produce plans that can be internalised by all parties.

The proposed planning approach aimed to address all these issues in order to provide a framework for planning in divided cities. Such a task required investigation of the effects of division and multiculturalism on the urban system and the evaluation of the

role of planning approaches on this effect. This was carried out by a comparative analysis between two types of divided cities spearheaded in urban division literature, multicultural cities, and divided cities. Comparison of these different types of cities is a less common, hence a more innovative approach in related literature. This thesis enhances this field of work and provides a basis for future work which aims to investigate divisions in cities. Such a holistic approach improves the compatibility of inter-disciplinary urban research and can give new visions to scholars who study division and the city.

6.2 Recommendations

This thesis aimed to propose a planning approach for divided cities by comparing them with multicultural cities. It provides a basis for future studies which aim to work in this less-penetrated area of research, namely comparison of divided and multicultural cities. In this framework, future work aimed at producing more in-depth surveys with less number of case studies can be useful. By doing so, more specific planning policies can be generated. In the scope of this research, investigating a good, a bad example of multicultural planning and comparing it with a successfully reunited city can provide more detailed results. In addition, the scope can be expanded by adding in more case studies which have a national multiculturalism policy (such as Canada or Australia) that effects planning procedures.

Another point of consideration can be separating the spatial analysis from planning processes. Focusing solely on one or the other can provide detailed insights on the preferred topic. Such a perspective can especially be necessary when there is a large number of case studies. At the same time, comparing singularly divided cities or multicultural studies would not have provided the researcher with such a holistic perspective. However, taking into account that in essence, divided cities are remarkably different from multicultural cities, the comparison has to be based on sound compatible elements. The focus of further research has to be clear in its research topics and develop the study according to these principles. The writer anticipates that this type of comparisons will proliferate in the hope of producing effective models of planning in divided cities.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Interview questions for Turkish and Greek planners and urban administrators of Nicosia.

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Görüşülen kişi hakkında genel bilgi / Information about the interviewee

İsim Soyisim / *Name & Surname*
Profesyonel Arka Plan / *Professional Background*
Kurum / *Department*
Görev / *Position*

A. Planlama sistemi ile ilgili genel bilgi / *Information about planning system*.

1. Plan yapımı ve karar alma süreçlerinde diğer tarafla olan ilişkilerinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?
   How do you define your relationships with the other side regarding planning and decision-making processes?
2. Belirli konularda ilişkileriniz var ise; bunlar hangi konularda ve nasıl kuruluyor?
   If there are any relationships, on which subjects and how are they achieved?
3. Hangi konularda işbirliği yapmak kolaylaştırıcı olacakken yapılamıyor?
   On which subjects would it be easier to cooperate, but there is no chance to do so?
4. İşbirliği yapılmasının önündeki engeller nelerdir?
   What are the obstacles hindering cooperation?

B. Nicosia Master Plan (NMP)

1. NMP oluşturulurken örnek alınan başka planlama çalışmaları oldu mu? Hangileri? Neden?
   Were any other planning studies taken as example when NMP was being prepared? Which ones? Why?
2. Ortak bir planlama sistemine ihtiyaç var mı? NMP bunun için ideal bir örnek olabilir mi?
   Do you think there is a need for an integrated planning system? Can NMP be an ideal example for this?
3. NMP'nin güçlü yönleri veya artıları nelerdir? Katılımlı (iki taraflı) yapılması bir artı mı?
   What are the strengths or positive sides of NMP? Is it a strength that both sides are collaborating?
4. NMP'nin zayıf yönleri veya eksikleri nelerdir? STK ve halk katılımı olmaması bir eksi mi?
   What are the weaknesses or shortcomings of NMP? Is it a weakness that NGOs and the public are not participating?
5. NMP uygulanıyor mu? Uygulanamayan bölümleri hangileridir ve bunun önündeki engeller nelerdir?
   Is NMP being implemented? Which parts cannot be implemented and what is inhibitting implementation?
6. NMP uygulamalarından memnun musunuz? (Chrysaliniotissa / Arab Ahmet) Hedefe ulaştı mı?
   Are you satisfied with NMP practices? Have projects like Chrysaliniotissa and Arab Ahmet met the objectives?
7. NMP kararlarının esnekliği ve bağlayıcılığı konusundaki görüşleriniz nelerdir?
   What do you think about the flexibility and bindingness of NMP decisions?
8. Kurumunuzda plan yapımı sürecinde NMP kararları dikkate alınıyor mu?
   Do you take NMP decisions in to account when making plans in your institution?

C. Bölünmenin kent üzerindeki etkileri / The effects of division on the city.

1. Kentin iki parça haline gelmesi/ortadan ikiye bölünmesi, ne tür sorunlar ortaya çıkmıştır? (Ulaşım ve altyapı ağı kopuklukları, donatı eksiklikleri, düzensiz kentsel gelişme, doluluk-boşluk orantısızlığı, fiziksel köhneme vb.)
   What kind of problems does the fact that the city has become to parts cause? (Transportation and infrastructure disconnections, urban facility defficiencies, irregular urban development, disproportional figur-ground ratios, physical obsolescense etc.)
2. Mevcut durumda, bu sorunları aşmak mümkün müdür? Bu durum devam ederse, kötüleşerek çözümü zorlaşacak sorunlar var mı?
   Is it possible to overcome these problems in the current situation? Are there any problems which will get worse and become harder to solve if the current status carries on?
3. Kent birleşirse bölünmeden kaynaklı sorunlar aşılabilir mi? Kalıcı olan, aşılamayacak sorunlar var mı? Hangileri?
   If the city unites, can the problems caused by division be surpassed? Are there any problems which cannot be overcomed? Which ones?
4. Biriminizde, bu sorunlarla doğrudan ilgilenen plan/projeleriniz var mı?
   Are there any plans / projects in your department that are directly related to these problems?
5. Lefkoşa bölünmüş olmasaydı, şehir nasıl gelişirdi? Ne tür farklılıklar görebilirdik?
   If Nicosia was not divided, how would have the city developed? What kind of differences could we have observed?
6. Siyasi anlaşmazlıklar çözümlenmese de, kentin bir bütün olarak işlemesini destekleyecek gerekçeler nelerdir?
   What are the justifications support the city to function as a whole even if a political agreement is not achieved?

D. Mevcut durumda planlama / Planning in the current situation.

1. Plan yaparken, bölünmeyle ilişkili olarak karşılatığınız en büyük sorun nedir?
   What would you say is the biggest problem you face (due to division) during planning processes?
2. Şehir planlanırken, plan sınırları nereden geçiriliyor? Diğer tarafla devamlılık söz konusu mu?
   How are the planning boundaries set while making plans? Is there contuniuity with the other side?
3. Yeşil hattın diğer tarafındaki fonksiyonlar, sizin tarafınızdaki fonksiyonların belirlenmesinde etkili mi?
   Are the functions beyond the green line (on the other side) effective in your zoning decisions?
4. Yeşil hat özellikle hangi fonksiyonel alanlardan geçerken daha büyük sorunlara neden oluyor? Konut alanları? Ticaret alanları? Yeşil alanlar?
   Which functions cause bigger problems than others when the green line passes through them? Residential areas? Commercial areas? Green areas?
5. Ölü bölgede/size bitişik olan alanda hangi fonksiyonların yer almasını tercih edersiniz?
   Which functions would you choose to see in the dead zone / adjacent areas?

E. Birleşmeyi yönlendirecek planlama / Planning to guide reunification.

1. Kentin bir bütün olarak ele alınması planlamaya ne tür yararlar sağlayacaktır?
   What kind of advantages to planning will handling the city as one (a unity) provide?
2. Kentin birleşmesi planlama için yeni zorluklar doğuracak mı?
   Will reunification of the city produce new challenges for planning?
3. Hangi fonksiyon alanlarında ortak kullanımlar daha kolay gerçekleşebilir?
   In which functional areas can common usage be readily actualized?
4. Birleşme durumunda, kentsel politikalar kaynaşmayı mı ayrışmayı mı desteklemeli? (Konut alanları)
   In case of reunification, should urban policies support integration or segregation? (Residential areas)
5. Kentin birleşmesi durumunda, gelir düzeyi farklılıklarının sorunlara neden olacağını düşünüyor musunuz? (asimilasyon)
   In case of unification, do you think the differences in levels of income cause problems (like assimilation)?
6. Birleşme hangi temellerde sağlanmalı? Sadece fiziksel mi?
   On what ground should unification be founded? Only physical?
7. Kentin bir gün birleşeceğine dair bir beklentiniz var mı? Birleşmesi için olmazsa olmaz bir koşul var mı? (politik anlaşmazlıkların çözümlenmesi)
   Do you have an expectation that the city will one day be reunited? Is there a prerequisite for reunification? (like the settlement of political disputes)

F. Diğer / Other.

1. Tartışmak istediğiniz başka bir konu var mı?
   Is there anything else you would like to discuss?

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PUBLICATIONS/PRESENTATIONS ON THE THESIS

Refereed Journal Papers:

- **Caner, G.** and Bölen, F., 2014. "Implications of socio-spatial segregation in urban theories". Journal of Planning. 23(3): 153-161.
- **Caner, G.** and Bölen, F., 2014. (In Turkish) "Belfast: Bir 'bölünmüş kent' anatomisi". Mimarlık Dergisi. November Issue.

Book Chapter:

- **Caner, G.** and Bölen, F., 2014. "Multiculturalism versus Division: socio-spatial transformations and the city". In: *Negotiating Boundaries in Multicultural Societies*, pp. 101-121. Edited by: Andrew Milne and Dina Mansour. Oxford: Inter-disciplinary Press.

International Conference Papers:

- **Caner, G.** and Bölen, F., 2012. "Planning to divide or not to divide? The role of planning in divided cities". 2nd International Cultural Difference and Social Solidarity Conference, 3-6 July 2012, ODTU, Kalkanlı, North Cyprus.

- **Caner, G.** and Bölen, F., 2012. "Urban consequences of division in 'divided cities': A comparative perspective". 26nd International AESOP Conference, 11-15 July 2012, ODTU, Ankara, Turkey.

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